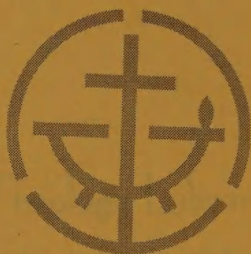


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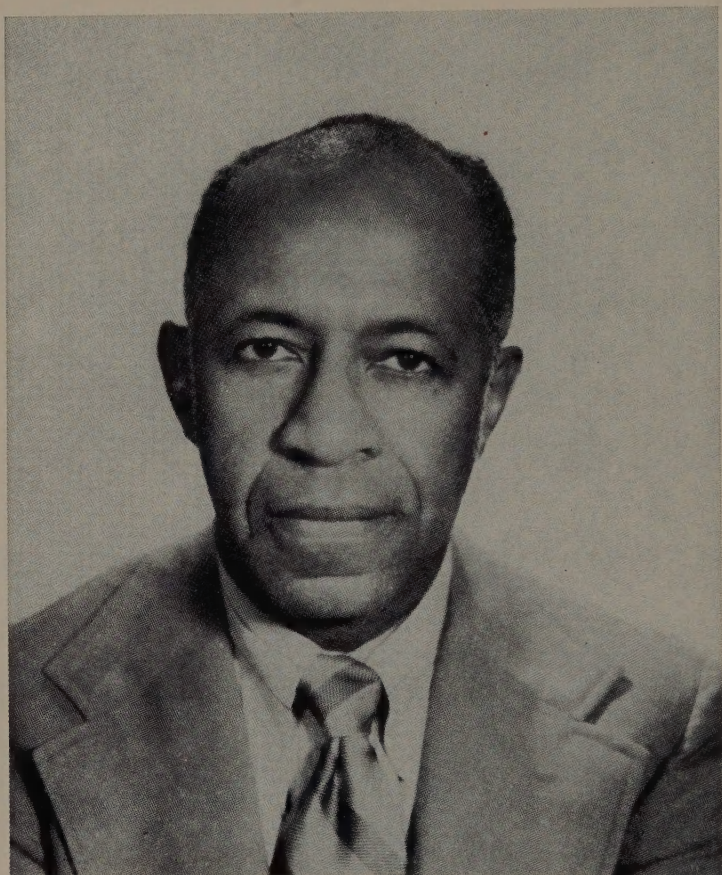




*THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1972*







*James R. Thompson*

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# *THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1972*

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, 99TH ANNUAL FORUM  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 28—JUNE 2, 1972



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# *The National Conference on Social Welfare*

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE is the only autonomous national organization, broadly inclusive in character, which assumes responsibility for the forum and discussion function in the health and welfare field. It is a voluntary organization of individual and organizational members created and supported by the field. Its major purpose is to provide a national educational forum for the critical examination of basic welfare issues, problems, and solutions.

Since 1873, the Conference has made a continuing appraisal of its role to ensure that its response to the emerging interests and demands of the economic and social needs of the times is effective.

Its Annual Forums have provided a free channel of communication for those interested in the social problems of our nation to share in a broad area of discussion as a base from which these problems may be resolved. Its comprehensive publications program has reflected the history and development of social welfare in the United States and has served as an important source of educational materials for use on local, state, national, and international levels.

The national office of the Conference provides consultative services for the U.S. Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare and serves as the secretariat for state conferences in social welfare.

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## Foreword

THIS ENLARGED EDITION of the Official Proceedings marks the return to an earlier mode of publishing a single record of the Annual Social Welfare Forum. Papers were selected from 135 that were submitted by speakers and include several with a focus on program and practice experience in addition to those dealing with the broader issues involved in "breaking the barriers to an open society."

Formal papers alone do not reflect the range of interchange and thrusts of a number of various group meetings which sought to give meaning to the Conference theme. This was particularly true of the very active minority caucuses of the Division meetings which were a major innovation of the 99th Annual Forum.

Unfortunately, not all these sessions relied on formal presentations which could be reviewed by the Editorial Committee. In order to make these significant deliberations and actions a part of the record of this Annual Forum, the Committee commissioned Dr. David Fanshel, Division Chairman, to prepare a summary report of the Division meetings and minority caucuses.

At this juncture in the history of the National Conference on Social Welfare, the Editorial Committee felt that some record should be made of the response by the National Board to the demands made by ethnic and other minorities for participation in the leadership and decision-making of the Conference and its Annual Forums. It seemed appropriate to have this historical process reviewed in the year that the Forum spotlighted the breaking of barriers. Our Conference President, who played a vital role in this transitional phase of our history, consented to undertake this assignment.

To encompass in a single document the hopes, aspirations, and breakthroughs to an open society was, in the words of Pogo, "an insurmountable opportunity." A dedicated, hard-working,

uncomplaining Editorial Committee made the try, and the Chairman extends his deep appreciation to Adele Braude, Rachel Marks, Sue Spencer, Virginia Tannar, and Harold Wright. The difficult task was lightened by the sustained support and assistance of Margaret Berry, Sara Lee Berkman, and Mabel Davis of the Conference staff. A special thanks goes to John D. Moore of Columbia University Press, whose technical assistance was of immeasurable help to the Committee.

DELWIN M. ANDERSON

*Chairman, Editorial Committee*

# *Greetings to the Conference*

*from PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON*

THE PARTICIPANTS in this ninety-ninth Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare can take deep pride in another year of constructive and humanitarian achievement.

The fact that your organization is made up of thousands of individuals and organizations representing people from a broad spectrum of American life adds to the genius and strength of your endeavors.

During my tenure as President I have taken every opportunity to urge the Congress to place public welfare reform among the foremost items of our nation's unfinished business. It is heartening to know that so many of you, some as professionals and others as volunteer citizens, are devoting your best efforts to this important cause.

You have my warmest wishes for a stimulating and productive meeting.



## *National Conference on Social Welfare Distinguished Service Awards*

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE AWARDS were established by Executive Committee action in 1954 to accomplish a twofold purpose by calling attention to the significant social problems of the times, and by recognition of the outstanding achievements of individuals or organizations in helping to solve them. The first Award was presented at the 1955 Annual Forum in San Francisco.

Conditions of the Awards and procedures for selection of recipients adopted by the Executive Committee specified that awards would be given only when outstanding candidates were submitted; that up to three awards might be given in any one year in recognition of outstanding contributions in administration, research, practice, or, in exceptional cases, for long and sustained achievement in the advancement of social welfare, but not solely for long service; and that recipients need not be members of the Conference or of the social work profession.

Final selection of recipients is made by the National Board of the Conference from nominations and supporting background material submitted by the members.

The Distinguished Service Award for 1972 was presented posthumously to Whitney M. Young, Jr., late Executive Director, National Urban League, and Past President, National Conference on Social Welfare, by James M. Dumpson at the opening General Session on Sunday, May 28.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE  
DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARDS 1955-1972

- 1955 EDITH M. BAKER, Washington, D.C.  
FEDELE F. FAURI, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
ELIZABETH WICKENDEN, New York
- 1956 TIAC (Temporary Inter-Association Council) PLANNING COMMITTEE,  
New York
- 1957 THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Montgomery, Ala.  
WILBUR J. COHEN, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- 1958 THE HONORABLE JOHN E. FOGARTY, Rhode Island  
LEONARD W. MAYO, New York
- 1959 ELISABETH SHIRLEY ENOCHS, Washington, D.C.  
OLLIE A. RANDALL, New York
- 1960 LOULA DUNN, Chicago  
RALPH BLANCHARD, New York  
HELEN HALL, New York
- 1961 THE HONORABLE AIME J. FORAND, Rhode Island
- 1962 THE ATLANTA *Constitution*, Ralph McGill and Jack Nelson, Atlanta,  
Ga.  
JOSEPH P. ANDERSON, New York  
CHARLOTTE TOWLE, Chicago
- 1963 HARRIETT M. BARTLETT, Cambridge, Mass.  
ERNEST JOHN BOHN, Cleveland  
FLORENCE G. HELLER, Glencoe, Ill.  
*Special Award*: Television Documentary, "The Battle of Newburgh,"  
IRVING GITLIN and the NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, New York  
*Special Citation (Posthumous)*: ANNA ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, "First  
Lady of the World"
- 1964 DR. ROBERT M. FELIX, Bethesda, Md.  
*Special Citation (Posthumous)*: JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, "Man of  
Destiny"
- 1965 JAMES V. BENNETT, Washington, D.C.  
SIDNEY HOLLANDER, Baltimore, Md.  
CORA KASIU, New York
- 1966 REPRESENTATIVE WILBUR D. MILLS, Ark.
- 1967 THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Washington, D.C.  
PLANNED PARENTHOOD-WORLD POPULATION  
*Special Awards (Posthumous)*:  
RUTH M. WILLIAMS, New York  
HOWARD F. GUSTAFSON, Indianapolis
- 1968 LOMA MOYER ALLEN, Rochester, N.Y.  
KENNETH BANCROFT CLARK, New York
- 1969 THE HONORABLE ELMER L. ANDERSEN, St. Paul, Minn.  
HARRY L. LURIE, New York  
IDA C. MERRIAM, Washington, D.C.
- 1970 No awards were presented
- 1971 SAM S. GRAIS, St. Paul, Minn.  
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT, New York
- 1972 WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR. (*Posthumous*)

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*THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1972*



# *Breaking the Barriers to an Open Society*

JAMES R. DUMPSON

DR. ALAIN LEROY LOCKE, in November, 1942, discussed one of the most heated issues that emerged during the Second World War, the potential for ending racial inequality as a logical sequence of liquidating the world imperialism of the 1940s. Referring to America's challenge to the all-out attack by Japan, Germany, and Italy on the military strength and moral integrity of the democratic nations, Locke wrote:

The commitments we have undertaken, the external challenges of the world goals we have set may well turn out to be the very forces destined to clear our own democracy of its present, undemocratic inconsistencies. The more we define this world position and policy, the more paradoxical our race attitudes and traditions in contrast will become.<sup>1</sup>

And then, as if in 1942 projecting his remarks to President Nixon in 1972, Alain Locke went on to say:

We can justly be proud of our political expression of democracy, but in the matter of social democracy, we must chart a new course. We must meet the challenge of the south of the more liberal policies of Latin America: on East, of the militant race equality creed and practice of Russia; while from every side there bears down upon us both the questioning skepticism and the hopeful expectations of the non-white world.<sup>2</sup>

JAMES R. DUMPSON is Dean, Graduate School of Social Service, Fordham University, New York, and President, National Conference on Social Welfare.

<sup>1</sup> Alain Leroy Locke, "The Unfinished Business of Democracy," *Survey Graphic*, XXXI, (1942), 458-59.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Thirty years later that questioning skepticism has not been resolved. In the May 3, 1972, issue of the *New York Times*, one read in an account of the report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights of a study of the public schools of five states that "Mexican-American pupils are being oppressed in the schools of those states."<sup>3</sup> Pointing out that Chicanos must absorb the Anglo society entirely, while Anglos pick and choose what they want from Chicano background, the Commission stated: "Until practices and policies conducive to full participation of Mexican-Americans in the educational process are adopted, equal opportunity in education is likely to remain more a myth than a reality for Mexican-American students,"<sup>4</sup> Barriers to an open society!

The neglect of Asian Americans in services to the aging has been documented; shocking socioeconomic problems daily oppress Asian immigrants to the United States since relaxation of discriminatory immigration laws in 1945; blatant discrimination is experienced by Asian Americans in denial of equal opportunities in the federal work force, in the allocation of research and demonstration grants and of training grants for social work education.

The current social, economic, and political deprivation of American Indians and of Puerto Ricans can similarly be chronicled. Clearly, these are all examples of the undemocratic inconsistencies which Alain Locke fervently hoped the commitments of this nation in the Second World War would clear from our democracy. Clearly, these are the kinds of inconsistencies, suffered by all of our ethnic minorities, that constitute barriers to an open society.

This is not the time anywhere in America to engage in mutual recriminations. Rather, I believe, we are called upon to pursue intelligent, constructive social action to remove all barriers to an open society. I believe we are called upon to enact drastic reform of our social, political, and economic practices. The social, economic, political, and cultural processes that bar

<sup>3</sup> *New York Times*, May 3, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

individuals and groups from realizing their inherent potential must be replaced by societal structures that are designed to aid and support human realization. Nothing short of a complete overhaul of our social, economic, and political systems can remove the barriers to an open society.

The administration of the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) during the past year has sought to add to the progress made in other years by NCSW to free itself of any barriers in its organization and practices that prevented full participation, open opportunity, and complete acceptance of all of us whatever our color, our cultural heritage, or our economic state.

I reported to the National Board of the Conference on December 16, 1971, in recommending the change of site from Anaheim to Chicago:

Anaheim has become a symbol around which the willingness and capacity of the Conference to change is being challenged; it has become the symbol around which is being tested the readiness of this organization, through its leadership, to be sensitive to the experiences of a large bloc of our membership who happen to be an ethnic minority; it has become the symbol of readiness of this organization to respond with affirmative action based on the principles we proclaim rather than action based on efficiency of operation and convenience.

We decided to respond with willingness to change when the principle of social justice was at stake. We decided to meet the test and respond with sensitivity and understanding and protest to the experiences of a large bloc of our ethnic minority and economically poor membership. We decided to act on principle even if that action resulted in legal disobedience and the eventual dissolution of this organization. We believe we struck an effective blow to a barrier to an open society.

Over the past two years, the administrations of NCSW have taken affirmative actions to increase our respect for the concept of maximum feasible participation in the running of this conference by all groups in our membership. Forty-one percent of our Board is nonwhite compared with 29 percent a year ago. The program of the 1972 Annual Forum reflects the active participation of our varied constituency in the planning and in the actual

sessions. We have sought structural change within this organization. We determined to continue the task of removing the barriers to an open conference as we respond to the call to increase our efforts to remove the barriers in all the systems and subsystems of our society.

We open this Forum with ninety-nine years of organizational history behind us. The problems being faced by social welfare leaders and institutions holding membership in NCSW are reflected in the themes and the recorded rhetoric of past Forums. It should give us pause, however, that in our ninety-ninth year we must accept as a theme "Breaking the Barriers to an Open Society." What in God's name have we been doing? What compromises have we permitted? What expedient policies have we adopted? What rigid structures have we perpetuated? That we must come to this moment in the history of the National Conference on Social Welfare to discuss breaking down the barriers to an open society is to confess a grievous fault—a dichotomy between what we profess and what we practice. It is to admit our failure as a profession since we, as social workers, are given the responsibility and the authority to administer the programs of social welfare institutions, to provide the services, to give leadership and guidance to the boards and volunteers, to teach the students who aspire to be social workers. But I submit to you that our responsibility and our authority are to do more. They are to provide what David Gil at Brandeis University refers to as "radical social change activists" who are prepared to engage in the elimination of the societal structures "which obstruct human self-actualization"; to provide "social reform and social welfare agents" who will seek to substitute for a complex of malfunctioning societal and human systems ones that are designed to lead to self-actualization for all individuals and groups. Is it not necessary to admit our failure and the reasons for it?

The fault does not lie in the traditions of social work, in the ideals and aspirations of the social work profession. Our commitments have always been to human justice and humanitarian values; we have proclaimed our allegiance to the acceptance of the dignity, integrity, and human worth of the individual; of re-



spect for differences of all kinds—racial, cultural, economic, social, and political. The tradition of social work cannot be faulted.

The fault lies in our practice of social work and in our preparation for that practice. Mirroring the society that gives them sanction, both social work practice and social work education have, in essence, returned the favor by reinforcing the structures created by that society, including the barriers it has erected to full participation by all its citizens. The foundation stone for these barriers is racism, and both social work practice and social work education reflect and reinforce this racism, so insidiously blended in the personal, institutional, overt and covert forms of the larger society. It is here in NCSW and in the social welfare institutions we represent. That is why we are compelled to discuss and plan strategies for action to break the barriers to an open society.

I recently came across the rather astonishing information that the year 1910 was a crucial one in human history because it was the year when it was determined that the medical profession began to do more good than harm. Perhaps we should ask whether the social work profession has passed this watershed yet. The question is being asked by others, and we must ask it of ourselves.

To join the issues: the prime barriers to an open society, the prime challenges to the social work profession, and to society at large, in my estimation are racism and the socioeconomic and political systems that contain and foster it.

While corrective action has been taken in the social work profession to come to grips with its own racism in the last few years, the profession has floundered over its own theoretical base. The profession has been late in perceiving the inherent contradiction between its emphasis on individual pathology and rehabilitation on the one hand and, on the other, the overwhelming, unmet need for basic, systematic changes, for the removal of socioeconomic and racial barriers to an equitable redistribution of the power, wealth, and income of the nation. Individual services have an important function and value in their own right. But

they are not a substitute for systematic changes in those economic and political systems of American life that give rise to malfunctioning and powerless individuals and groups. Basic systematic changes are the first essential step in eliminating racism and in destroying all other barriers to an open society.

I recognize the seriousness of the charge of racism against an institution such as social work, whose practitioners, educators, and policy-making boards and supporters have historically proclaimed their commitment to equality and human well-being. And I am aware of those who would protest that discrimination and overt forms of racism as we knew them in the 1930s have vanished from the scene, that "no one is being lynched now." But to those who find refuge in such observations, it must be said that they fail to recognize the racially based, socioeconomic and political restrictions on Asian Americans, American Indians, blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans and all who are in poverty in this land—restrictions on the access of these groups to power, to the opportunity structures, and, therefore, to money and the power that money brings. These are the restrictions. These are the barriers to an open society that must be our concern during this week of discussion and planning for action.

Directly to the point in understanding my charge against social work is the concept developed by Walter Walker in his unpublished paper, "Social Work Practice and the Aspirations of Black People: Are They Compatible?" Walker states that an institution is racist "when its systematic functioning results in the *de facto* stratification of the society on the basis of racial groupings, religious beliefs, ethnic groups, or sex."

Within Walker's formulation, the policies and practices of the racist rest in a belief in the inherent inferiority of some groups and the inherent superiority of other groups. It involves the systematic oppression of people, the negation of the common humanity of people, the exclusion of a group of people or individuals, for extrinsic reasons, from the full range of opportunities of society and its rewards. Racism involves the denial of power, the power necessary to attain self-fulfillment.

The area in which institutional racism in social work is most

plainly visible, where it surfaces most clearly and where the profession is most vulnerable, most exposed, is in the composition of the boards and staffs of social welfare agencies. The number of blacks, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Chicanos still fails to reflect the population groups being served, particularly in policy-making positions.

Such agencies have not yet begun to realize that they were created and now function as carriers for the dominant culture; that they function as missionaries for the guiding values and beliefs of white America. Even where there has been social work movement into minority communities, social welfare agencies, with rare exceptions, have continued to purvey the same services, in the same ways, and always on their own ethnic and cultural terms, without any attempt to get into the fiber of the minority community or to respond to the community's own forms and institutions, which are the outgrowth of the community's own culturally conditioned requirements. Such practice grows out of a culturally conditioned conviction of white superiority and the inherent inferiority of that which is culturally different. It is just plain racist.

An end to racism in the social welfare system requires redefinition of a multitude of things, including, for example, the structural adaptations necessary to facilitate incorporation of the black or Chicano perspective in the delivery of services; revisions of curricula in schools of social work to make this possible; the creation of appropriate field instruction placements; and, above all, an understanding of how the social work system can best be made to serve as a tool for the liberation of ethnic minority groups from the shackles of a malfunctioning, interlocking set of socioeconomic systems. Once again, perhaps the prime question to be resolved is whether the defensive concern of social work education with its psychodynamic theories of human behavior can be rationally defended against the growing body of opinion which holds that theories of individual behavior are no longer adequate for directing social action strategies to cope with the individual and societal problems that confront us.

Social work education bears another share of the load in re-

solving such problems. With a social work curriculum largely devoid of reliable content in respect to ethnic minorities, with faculties having no more than a scattering of members from the relevant ethnic groups, it is not surprising that our service delivery systems, the end product of the educational process in social work, falter in the delivery of services to minority communities as well as to the poor.

Perhaps an important issue to be raised in addressing the plight of our minorities is to question why our present formulation of minority-majority exists. Why is the distinction between the two so deeply imbedded in the emotional and intellectual fiber of this supposedly democratic society? What purpose is served by perpetuating the concept of a minority as opposed to the majority when what we are dealing with, plain and simple, is people and human systems? I am certain that this construct itself is a significant barrier to an open society. And there is no doubt but that the perception of the groups we are concerned with as minority groups plays into the hands of those who erect, support, and perpetuate the barriers we are committed to destroying. But, given the construct, why then are we focusing our attention on five, specific minority groups: blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Asian Americans, and Chicanos? One constantly hears that there are other "minorities" who are oppressed. The war on poverty became known as a policy stance for ethnic minorities. But lest we forget, the implementation of that policy did not reallocate our national resources or indeed even reorder our national priorities. And it gave the illusion that the economic and psychosocial needs of a majority were being neglected. The result has been to increase the fear of the majority, the nonethnic minority population, and now we see in many communities a diminution of effort to meet the unique and massive needs of these minorities.

I want to explain why, despite the existence of countless other minority groups, the focus of the social work profession and social welfare institutions must, nonetheless, be on the five ethnic minorities. The rationale is essentially threefold. The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Ker-

ner Commission) established the basic context for this focus when it concluded that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The Commission held that "this deepening racial division is not inevitable" but that "Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans."<sup>5</sup> "What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."<sup>6</sup> The report went on to say that there can be no higher priority for national action than the solution of these problems and that there is no higher claim on the nation's conscience.

Secondly, we are required, by our own criteria of need, and commitment to the allaying of need, to concentrate on those who have been on the bottom of the heap in the allocation of national resources over the longest periods of time. There is no question but that this is true of blacks, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Chicanos. There has been less prejudice toward, and more redress for, all other minorities, no matter how defined.

The third essential consideration comes down to color and the negative status accorded to color in this society. Color is the great divide in this society. Jews, Lithuanians, Poles, Italians, and others may encounter obstacles to free choice based on nationality, religion, and cultural patterns, but such obstacles can in no way compare with the obstacles to growth, development, and acquisition of power experienced by blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Chicanos.

These are the reasons these five groups must take precedence with us in the exercise of our professional concerns and responsibilities.

In order, then, to serve those we must serve, we have to make

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: New York Times Co., 1968), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii.

intervention in societal problems our first order of business, utilizing all the innovative methods we can invent or devise, and including direct social action. In short, we must adapt our service delivery patterns, and the educational process that supports them, to the unique needs, structures, and cultural backgrounds of the ethnic minorities which have a special claim, in the name of justice, on the energies and talents of the social welfare system. Moreover, those we serve must be involved in determining the "how" and "what" of services. They must be partners in the delivery of services, not mere consumers.

The over-all attack must be an attack on powerlessness; the over-all objective must be the redistribution of power, social, economic, and political, as the primary means of destroying all barriers to an open society; the final goal must be to clear the avenues to power for the powerless. Powerlessness is the product of deprivation; it is the product, regardless of previous historical necessities, of what is now essentially artificial scarcity—scarcity of education, scarcity of opportunity, scarcity of economic return for energy expended, and of all the other collateral and peripheral deprivations that derive from the core scarcities.

Power, on the other hand, is the product of opportunity and abundance, tangible and intangible (one of the intangibles being power), resulting from the concentrated accrual of the gross resources of the nation. Power in the hands of privileged individuals and groups has made it possible for them to erect and perpetuate barriers that deny power to others; to rig the economy artificially and the functioning of the social structure to guarantee abundance, not only of goods, but, most importantly, of power itself, in the hands of controlling elements at the cost of the gross deprivation of the many, including the constituencies of the social work profession.

Whatever the historical precedents and necessities for the stratification of this democratic society, the technology exists to create abundance for all. For the first time in the history of man, to perpetuate this stratification is a crime against mankind. In his last State of the Union message in 1968, President Lyndon B.



Johnson said: "A nation that can put a man on the moon can put Everyman in a house." That is a flat statement of the present potential of this society, all historical exigencies aside. It is not a statement to be read narrowly. It means that this nation possesses the technological prowess to permit abundance for all were it to become public policy to utilize present technology to that end. Whatever the historical necessities of the past required in terms of the stratification of society as between the powerful and the powerless, it is now within the capacity of this society to render such requirements obsolete, to abandon them as archaic relics of an inhumane and ruthless system.

Despite the stratification of society racially, economically, and culturally, there are potentials for power never before realized among the powerless, and all those who would be allied with them. The power of numbers must never be forgotten. There is a vast, untapped reservoir in the sheer mass of the poor, the blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos, the Asian Americans, and the American Indians. While the elective process is an important process where numbers are concerned, it is not in and of itself the sole option open to people to express themselves in an organized way in large numbers. There must be added the power of protest and a growing economic power—the power of boycott.

As for those of us in social work and in social welfare institutions, who are professionally allied with the poor and with minority groups in their search for power, we are not powerless either. Neither as individuals nor as a body can we be said to be powerless. The National Association of Social Workers alone is a body of 55,000 members with coalitions open for the creation of power bases of formidable dimensions, to be directed into effective forces for change based on the values we hold dear. We have the strengths that derive from our knowledge of human needs and our commitment to social justice. Unmarshaled powers reside in the voluntary sector represented by our collective boards and, by extension, through the influence of the members of those boards. The poor have never fully realized the collective

power they have for instigating social change, and *we* have never fully realized the extent of our collective power to help them do it.

I believe that what so nervously challenges social workers and the entire field of social welfare is the growing recognition of the power of peoples' groups to bring about institutional and personal change, born of a new urgency on the part of the ethnic minorities in determining their own destinies. It seems to me that either we will join them in removing the structural barriers to the achievement of their human potential, self-determination, and well-being, or we will run the serious risk of being swept aside in their determination to achieve these ends without us. We need no special rationale for action.

The business of social work, then, must be social and political action aimed at a redistribution of power and all the concomitants of power. The process must be social and political because the problems of transforming inner-city and desolate rural areas from their present states of physical deterioration and social alienation is, above all, a political process, not just in terms of elective politics but in the resolution of claims of conflicting interests as between public bodies, and public-private bodies. Facets of the process can be identified as economic, educational, and even philosophical, but in so far as we are concerned with the primary conditions of change and the means of effecting change, we are speaking about a profoundly political process.

Needless to say, this is a political year and we, as social workers, have an obligation to look at candidates at all levels of the political structure through the value screen of social work, in light of our recognized priorities, and to select candidates in whom we can have confidence—confidence that they will support us in the battle for enlightened and humane social contracts, for a destratification of American life, both racial and social, utilizing the incredibly sophisticated technology that now resides in this society. We have the obligation to make pragmatism of social work practice.

While we must carefully scrutinize the records and utterances of all candidates, and relate to them accordingly in conformity



with the values we know to be self-evident, we have a special obligation to make our views known and felt at the national conventions. If significant restructuring of our major social, economic, and political institutions is to take place on a timetable commensurate with the need for change, we have no choice but to make the weight of our views felt in the proceedings in Miami. It is absurd to think we can obtain results by waiting until the conventions are over. We cannot expect an output consistent with our views if we have not made a substantial and significant input.

We know that simple, moral fervor was never enough; it is certainly not enough today. Today's issues demand strategies, national in scope and political in character; for their resolution involves the postures, policies, and decision-making processes of public and private agencies, corporate structures, regulatory bodies, local planning boards, and local, state, and federal governments. All of these elements relate to one phase or another of the political process. This holds true whether we are dealing with the issues of economics, education, housing, criminal justice, consumerism, health, or social welfare.

It is essential for practitioners of social work to play important roles, individually and collectively, in relation to Presidential politics in a Presidential year, and in elective politics at all levels in any year in which they occur. They must also occupy themselves on a year-in-and-year-out basis with the myriad public and private transactions and negotiations that constitute the ultimate political process in any given community and which in the final analysis determine the quality of life in that community. Such a task is too great for any one individual. I would even concede that it is too much for any one organization. But I believe that it is a job within the compass of a strong and effective coalition committed to the values of social work.

The first objective is the formation of a coalition of maximum strength, drawing on all groups with any role to play in altering the socioeconomic-political system so that it becomes responsive to the needs of minorities and of the poor. Such a coalition must be committed to combating racism as it pervades all the above

processes, permeates the system, and denies people access to power. The unity and cohesion of broadly based coalition efforts is the bedrock upon which our endeavors must inevitably rest.

I would be doing a disservice in this discussion, however, if I were to minimize the difficulties inherent in the task of formulating and maintaining effective coalitions. Let me take one case in point—and it is only one case in point. The current competition and strife among the ethnic groups themselves is illustrative. I am by no means suggesting that such strife is characteristic of the ethnic groups alone, but that the tragedy of the struggle is that it is focused on division of the meager spoils (allocations of resources, jobs, and power) that the majority community has thus far seen fit to release rather than over the means to making a coherent and sustained demand for a share of the decision-making powers in the allocation of all resources. The demand of blacks for a job in this outfit, of Chicanos for a job in that outfit, of the Puerto Ricans for a professorship in this institution, of American Indians for a slot in that institution, is a human and social waste in light of the need to pool all our forces and resources in the demand for a complete redistribution of jobs and opportunities at all levels of society and certainly in the social welfare system.

Fragmentation of our efforts in all-out struggles at this time simply ensures that the majority community will continue to dominate through the age-old technique of divide and conquer. The need, then, is for us to resolve any outstanding conflicts among ourselves, to pursue only those goals worthy of our effort, and to enter into coalitions of maximum strength, committed to the elimination of racism, the necessary revisions in the socioeconomic-political system, and the redistribution of wealth and power to the end of opening up avenues of fulfillment for all those whose lives are now blighted by the lack of it. Such coalitions must go far beyond the boundaries of social welfare to include all other relevant forces engaged in effecting alterations in our present malfunctioning and inappropriate social systems so that access to power is a reality in the life of the individual, so

that the system is responsive to the needs of all. Utopian? Perhaps. But it is critical to our survival as a free society.

The needs of people—all people, regardless of ethnic origin—should be formulated as they are perceived by those close to the barrios, the ghettos, the Chinatowns, the rural slums, and the reservations. We should designate groups with special skills in social policy to identify clearly and authoritatively what has happened to the people we are charged with assisting and to prepare statements, or take actions, to inform the national conventions of people's needs. We should determine that the conventions are not allowed to function in ignorance, or feigned ignorance, of human needs. It is less than realistic to believe that the conventions will produce what we want unless we make a powerful and persuasive input, one which can be ignored only at peril to public personalities, to those who bear the burden of public trust, and to the body politic.

In short, we will violate our trust and our responsibility to all those we serve if we fail to act and act in a continuum. We must act with insight, sure of our rational understanding of the needs of the people we serve, with strength, and with the full force of our numbers and social resources. To stand still is to go backward; worse, it is in criminal default of our obligations and can only result in strengthening the barriers to an open society rather than breaking them down.

Continued progress will not occur, however, so long as we restrict our activities to attending professional conferences, group sessions, and workshops unless these activities result in sustained and militant action for change on the economic and political fronts.

I suspect that one of the first things we would do, if we were indeed committed to seeking change, would be to utilize the 1972 Annual Forum not only as a forum for the exchange of ideas, but as an instrument of action. If we do not choose to do so, it represents a profound loss, because a real coalition for social action has the potential for emerging from this Forum. All that is now lacking is the unqualified determination to do it.

As I continue to stress the unchanging need for change, the basic construct must be eminently clear. I hold, and I hope you hold with me, that both individual problems and the broad social problems that plague us emerge from the imperfect functioning of an inappropriate social structure; that these problems result, in the main, from the malfunctioning of our socioeconomic-political systems; and that the highest priority must be given by the social work profession and the social welfare field to planning processes and strategies of intervention to alter the malfunctioning of these systems.

The basic problems of our minorities, be they ethnic, racial, or economic, are structural in nature. Their origins are in the arrangement, the nature, and the operation of society's institutions. It is within this framework that the structures of power must be subjected to change.

I think our mandate is clear. The decaying social structure of the 1970s lays bare the fabric of a society that is producing an increasing number of economically disinherited Americans, those held in contempt, locked out of free and full participation in the system, impotent, barred from the fruits of this great country's productivity. Moreover, the condition of the nation's poor, cutting across all ethnic groups, is being continually eroded by the denial and withholding of any opportunity for self-realization.

I remember the addresses by the late Whitney M. Young, Jr. What he had to say about the role of the social worker has lost none of its impact, none of its potency. Whitney's recommendations were sound then. I only regret the need, the clear relevancy, in quoting them now.

Whitney said:

I hope that every social worker in America will spread the doctrine of social protest to every person in poverty with whom he comes in contact. . . . It is not enough for the social worker to teach the poor how to survive on a substandard budget. The social worker must plant the seed of change and indignation in the mind of every citizen suffering in want. . . . The social worker must implant in the minds of the poor the gospel of liberty from alienation and of freedom from want. . . . Social workers, by the very nature of their commitments and insights, have every reason to influence the development of pub-

lic policy. It is the social worker who observes at the closest range what welfare does to people rather than for them. . . . We must tell families that change is a law of life and reform a way of life.

To summarize my challenge to social workers I summon the words of James Baldwin who in his characteristic way tells us it all begins with ourselves:

It is to history that we owe our frames of references, our identities and our aspirations. And it is with great pain and terror that one begins to realize this. In great pain and terror one begins to assess the history which has placed one where one is, and formed one's point of view. In great pain and terror, because, thereafter, one enters into battle with that historical creation, oneself, and attempts to recreate oneself according to a principle more humane and more liberating; one begins to attempt to achieve a level of personal maturity and freedom which robs history of its tyrannical power, and also changes history.<sup>7</sup>

With the YWCA let us recommit ourselves and our profession:

From problem-solving to systems changing  
From servicing to belonging  
From emphasis on the improvement of race relations to  
The elimination of racism  
From liberalism to liberation  
From an emphasis on changing interpersonal relations  
To a basic change in power relations  
From emphasis on equality to equity and empowerment  
From giving equal opportunity to creating an equitable society.

The alternative to all of this? A former president of the National Conference on Social Welfare, Richard Cabot, gave us the alternative in his 1931 presidential address. I join with him in saying to you: "Let us criticize and reform ourselves before a less gentle and appreciative body takes us by the shoulders and pushes us into the streets."

<sup>7</sup> James Baldwin, "The White Man's Guilt," *Ebony*, August, 1965, pp. 13-14.

# *The Survival of Mankind*

ROBERT THEOBALD

THERE IS ONLY ONE AGREEMENT in America today: that something is deeply wrong. Different people cite different problems: excessive taxes and welfare chiseling; excessive controls on initiative and consequent lack of opportunity for progress; excessive power and consequent poverty. Some believe that our problems emerge from a loss of respect for country, family, and God; others believe that we need to rethink our values in all these areas.

The result of this deep, festering disagreement is a loss of confidence in the future of the country. The document *Hopes and Fears of the American People* shows that most Americans believe that the quality of life has declined recently—a particularly startling statement, given the traditional American optimism. In addition, Americans are rapidly losing their belief in the good faith of others. The young, the old, women, the poor, and minorities feel increasingly that they are besieged by people who despise them and are trying to destroy their rights. Similarly, the various parts of the “establishment”—government, business, labor, the media—believe that they are under unwarranted attack both by the other parts of the establishment and by those outside the establishment.

I know that some may consider this picture overdrawn; I wish that I could agree. Even more seriously, all the current trends suggest that we are still losing faith in the major institutions of the country at a rapid rate. It is a tautology that if a country loses faith in itself and in its institutions it cannot survive. We are perilously close to this point.

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The first step we must take in order to move back from the brink on which we are so precariously poised is to recognize that we face multiple interrelated crises. These have developed because of the conditions in which we are now living, which are so profoundly different from those of the past. The second essential step is to recognize that not only are the crises profoundly different, but that the change in conditions has made our decision-making processes ineffective. In saying this I do not intend an attack on any particular persons now holding power—we must recognize that the breakdown is in the system and *not* in the people playing the roles.

Unless we move far more imaginatively, our future will hold a continuing failure to deal effectively with the issues which confront us. This will cause further breakdowns in our economic, social, political, and personal patterns, and this, in turn, will make us still less capable of dealing with additional crises as they develop.

Such a statement should not surprise us. Arnold Toynbee, the great British historian, has reminded us that there are more dead cultures than live ones. Why should we expect to do better than the civilizations of Rome and Greece and the Ashanti and Egypt and the Chinese and the Aztecs?

Up to the present time, cultures confronted with radically new conditions have collapsed. It is probable that this will happen again. Indeed, this result is inevitable unless we have the courage and the imagination to act in a-historical ways, to find new styles of action.

In the past when cultures have failed to cope with new conditions, the destruction has been localized. We, however, have created a global system in which the survival of all humanity is interlinked. Failure to come to grips with the conditions which we ourselves have brought into existence would therefore destroy all the possibilities which we have built up on this planet.

We do not have to fail. We have capabilities which were not available to humanity when other major changes in conditions took place. First, we have the time and the energy to think and create, to invent the alternative future we so urgently need. Sec-

ond, we have the communications media to disseminate information once it has been discovered.

We can carry through the transformation from the industrial era to the cooperative, communications era with success. But we shall not do so until far more of us feel that we have a personal responsibility to participate in the transition. Unless more of us pick up the challenge in the immediate future it will be too late.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BASIC NATURE OF THE CRISIS

Is it possible to state clearly what is happening to us? I believe that we can perceive the nature of our problem. However, the implications are so enormous that they are not easy to comprehend.

Western man has so successfully developed power over his world that he no longer dares use all his available power because to do so would necessarily lead to massive breakdowns in culture patterns. The industrial culture was developed to create more power for man. It will not be effective in the emerging communications era when we must decide where to use our power rather than how to increase it still further.

We have effectively destroyed the validity of the culture within which we live. Each culture, if it is to be viable, must create a set of norms which determine the ordering of life within that culture. Cultures are successful in the short run if they have norms which are appropriate to the immediate situation in which they find themselves. They are successful in the medium run if they have built into them mechanisms which permit them to adapt their norms to inevitable changes in conditions. They are successful in the long run if they have a possibility built into them which permits them to change not only their norms but also the mechanisms by which they change their norms.

The classic story of the failure of a culture in the medium-run

<sup>1</sup> The United Nations pamphlet *The Challenge of a Decade* points out the two directions which are possible in the 1970s. It consists of two sets of news stories dated in 1980: one showing where we will be if we continue to move in the same directions and the other showing where we could be if we chose to act imaginatively.



is that of the "saber-toothed tiger curriculum." The elders of a certain tribe continued to teach their young men how to deal with the threat posed by the saber-toothed tiger although the tiger was dying out and new threats to survival were emerging. The protests of the young were insufficient to change policy, and eventually the tribe died out.

But our problem is not at the saber-toothed tiger level. We are in a crisis of crises, a METAcrisis. We do not need to know how to protect ourselves from different predators. Rather we need to develop new ways of thinking: we have to break out of the lose-lose and win-lose models within which we presently see the world and develop win-win models. In other words, we must cease to believe that we can *only* win when somebody else loses; we must learn to understand the possibility that both sides can gain from truly cooperative thinking and action.

The two previous METAtransformations have been when man moved from hunting and gathering to agriculture and from agriculture to industry. The present METAtransition is from industry to communications. As we confront this situation there are two circumstances from which we should take hope. First, the dreams and hopes of the founders of America can be more easily realized in the communications era than in the industrial era. Second, the bicentennial in 1976 will give us an appropriate moment to renew our commitment to these ideas.

#### THE OBSOLESCENCE OF POWER

Full commitment to the creation of a new order will not be possible, however, without a greater understanding of the reality that the norms of the industrial era no longer work. We must come to understand that we cannot be "successful" without fundamental changes in our mechanisms for decision-making.<sup>2</sup>

As we have already seen, the critical problem in our present METAtransition is that man has created so much power through the development of the industrial era that he no longer dares use it. I explored the implications of this reality for war

<sup>2</sup> My forthcoming work, *Selecting Success* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973) explores the need for changes in our definitions of success.

and peace in a speech made to the Governors Conference on the Future in the Pacific Northwest some three years ago:

This critical reality can perhaps be most easily understood if we reverse one of the best known political aphorisms and argue that in today's world, "diplomacy is the continuation of war by other means."

What does this imply? In the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, it was believed that when reason failed war was a "logical" next step. Today, however, war can solve nothing, for the use of all available force would destroy the world. Total war is impossible. Once total war has been ruled out, war becomes a communications medium about the determination of the participants and their willingness to endure, rather than a sure means of eventual victory or defeat. (This statement probably applies only where one of the "great" powers is involved; however, in today's interconnected world, there are few areas where this is not the case.)

It is for this reason that the Vietnam war has proved so confusing for all concerned. The United States could win the war at any point by using some of its most destructive weaponry, but the costs for the future of the world order are too high to be acceptable. The use of all available force would probably make more enemies than friends both internally and internationally. In these circumstances, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese cannot lose the war, but they too make enemies by their military activities and the cost of enduring is so high that talks make sense for them also. It is for this reason that the discussions in Paris started; it is our mutual inability to discover the implications of this new world where "power" is no longer effective which delays the conclusion of the talks.

In the three years since these words were written, it has become increasingly clear that we are unwilling to look at the real implications of the need for a negotiated settlement. The latest U.S. terms amount to a statement that we shall withdraw without settling anything. All of the destruction and hatreds generated over the last years will be left untouched. In effect, we shall have destabilized a massive area of the world by violence and will leave all of the consequent tensions unresolved because we are unable to face the new realities of the communications era.

Our total failure to understand the basic reality of the communications era is even more serious than it appears at first sight because our unwillingness to deal with the obsolescence of

power has consequences at home also. Let me quote once more from the same speech:

While we have begun to perceive the reality of change in power relationships internationally, we have not yet really started to understand that the same development is occurring domestically. It goes without saying that the government has the force to destroy totally any group of protesters by depriving them of rights essential to meaningful life in the twentieth century; heavy-handed action, however, makes friends for the protesters. Similarly, protesters have the force to destroy effectively any institution which displeases them, but excessive use of such force is clearly counterproductive to any goal of achieving meaningful change.

The meaning of this reality has become clearer in the three years since the speech. Our decision-making process is presently based on countervailing force. So many people are now interested in every issue that we have become incapable of intelligent anticipatory action to deal with any issue: too many groups can bring too much power to bear to prevent action. Our decision-making patterns are paralyzed *except* in crisis; when crisis occurs, those involved all too often overreact from fear or a desire to save face. It is this quasi-total paralysis of the decision-making function at a time when we are in need of massive new directions which places us in such immediate danger.

*The economic/ecological double bind.* The conditions required for the continuation of the present economic situation are now well-known.

John Maynard Keynes, the British economist, has shown that an industrial-era economy will only function effectively if there are enough jobs for all who want them. He also has shown that there will only be enough jobs if people are prepared to buy everything that can be produced. It follows, given the reality of increasing productivity, that more and more must be consumed each year if we are to maintain the conditions required for the operation of an industrial-era system. It was this reality which caused William Gomberg to coin the phrase "a whirling-dervish economy dependent on compulsive consumption."

The challenge to the industrial-era model has been growing

for many years. It has been argued increasingly that there are more things to life than job-holding and consumption. It has been argued that we should not despoil the earth to produce marginally useful goods. But it is only in the last few months that the various strands of protest have started to merge and to make it clear that the indefinite continuation of a growth economy is neither desirable nor possible.

We have not yet understood, however, the magnitude of the challenge which faces us. It is not a question of making some minor changes in a slightly malfunctioning system. Rather we are faced with the rejection of the fundamental premise on which industrial-era economics is based: we must imagine new patterns in the near future if we are to prevent collapse of our socioeconomy. Such a task obviously exceeds the capacity of our present methods of decision-making.<sup>3</sup>

*The distribution of resources double bind.* We still pretend that we have a theory of the distribution of resources which is realistic in present conditions. Neoclassicist economists writing in the late nineteenth century argued that actual incomes could be assumed to reflect real contributions, given certain conditions. Despite the fact that these conditions are not met in today's world we have continued to base policy on the belief that the distribution of resources reflects, with some degree of reliability, the value of the goods and services people produce.

It is only very recently that we have started to recognize that power is the primary determinant of resource distribution. Having begun to recognize this, we did not act to limit power so that the distribution of resources would be more equitable. Rather we moved toward a control system which disguises the use of power to a considerable extent but still ensures that those with the least power get the smallest part of the increase in available resources. Any honest look at the pattern of the Price and Wage Commission's decisions forces one to conclude that avoid-

<sup>3</sup> For extended analyses of this topic see Robert Theobald, *The Economics of Abundance* (New York: Pitman, 1970), and *Habit and Habitat* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972). The first examines how to change the economic system; the second, the value shifts required for a viable system in communications-era conditions.

ing disruption is their primary concern rather than achieving equity.

We do not even have the decision-making capacity to deal with what is known to be wrong with our current culture. We are obviously incapable of examining effectively the new issues posed by the economics/ecology double bind. As we have already seen, the present socioeconomic system depends on jobs being available for all. But it is now clear that the requirement for the preservation of our natural resources will make it impossible to continue to provide jobs for all. (This is not an argument that work will be scarce. On the contrary, I am arguing that the most important work cannot possibly be carried out by structuring it into jobs.)

If there will not be enough jobs, we must develop a new system for distributing resources. It is not a question of dealing with the problems of a malfunctioning industrial-era system; rather it is necessary to produce a totally new system. The only transitional answer which has any chance of being effective is a combination of a guaranteed income for all and income-maintenance plans for those in the middle class who lose their jobs.

What do I mean by a guaranteed income, or basic economic security, as I have called it in my writings? I am arguing the necessity for a basic income provided to everybody as a matter of right without *any* preconditions. From my point of view, such a right must not be subordinated to any other criteria. Above all, it must not be based on the necessity for people to carry out jobs determined for them by the government office responsible for their payment.

We seem incapable of moving effectively in this direction. The Nixon proposal has been amended away from its elements of income guarantee toward what must be called a "slavery" system. In the latest proposal of the Senate Finance Committee, an individual who cannot find a job in the conventional private or public sector will be compelled to take a job at \$1.20 per hour. This requirement will even apply to mothers of school-age children, thus guaranteeing another generation of juvenile delinquents and adult criminals.

Why did the initial movement toward a guaranteed income get corrupted? Our whole culture is based on the assumption that holding a job is good and that people should not receive money without "earning" it. There are two reasons for this. The first results from our conventions for calculating the gross national product (GNP). When economists first started to try to calculate the value of production, they left out the value of work in the home because it was felt to be too difficult to calculate. They assumed that there would be no dramatic changes in the proportion of people holding jobs so the distortion introduced by this factor would not be serious as figures were compared over time.

In the context of this issue we are considering, however, the distortion is immensely serious. Taking a woman out of the home and placing her in a job *appears* to increase the GNP. In actual fact, however, there is a decrease in the total value of goods and services: calculations show that the worth of the time of a woman in her own home far exceeds \$1.20 an hour. Forcing welfare mothers out to work decreases wealth even in terms of production, let alone reducing personal satisfactions and damaging children.

This statistical problem could be tackled if it were not supported by our view of man. We believe as a society that people will not work unless they are forced to do so. Our societal perception of the welfare mother—and all those on welfare—is of idle bums. It is this reality which led Congress to undo the initial Nixon bill. It is depressing to recognize that while the United States has been moving away from the guaranteed income, Britain and other European countries are giving it increasingly serious consideration.

It does not take much thinking to perceive what would be the result of the measure proposed by the Senate Finance Committee. Once it had been accepted that government should serve as the employer of last resort, the number involved in this program would inevitably grow. The government would be forced to deal with the least-educated, the least-trained, and the least-motivated; for those with education, skills, and training can find con-



ventional jobs in the communications era. The problems raised by this situation would inevitably lead to tighter and tighter discipline, less and less freedom, and eventually true slavery.

We can only avoid this result by recognizing that modern psychologists have a different view of human nature. An increasing number of psychologists are convinced that men rise to challenge if they are given the opportunity and have the food, clothing, and shelter which will permit them to see beyond their immediate needs.

We can now see the true nature of our present challenge: movement into the communications era is only possible on the basis of a new view of humanity. If man is inherently an idle, irresponsible bum we cannot afford to provide a guaranteed income, for man will goof off. We must therefore reintroduce a system of slavery and slowly lose all the freedoms we have gained. If the new theories of psychologists are right, we should certainly provide everybody with a guaranteed income, for they will use it to discover how they can contribute to their own growth, to that of others, and to that of the society.

*The educational double bind.* Education has always been seen as a method of passing on the knowledge possessed by the older generation for the benefit of the younger generation. Such a model of education is no longer suitable. If we are to survive we must discover the new knowledge structures appropriate for the communications era we are entering. These knowledge structures are substantially different from those of the industrial era.

The process of education today must therefore be a joint search for new knowledge. One can no longer assume that the old know and the young must learn. Neither can one assume, of course, that the young know and the old must learn. We must search together for the knowledge we need to meet our present problem/possibilities.

Unfortunately, however, our industrial-era certainties once again get in the way. Just as our society does not believe that people will work if they receive a guaranteed income, it does not believe that students will study unless they are compelled to do so. The industrial-era educator is therefore caught in the neces-

sity of preserving the positive- and negative-sanction system of the school and university. This means that he must "teach" and the student must learn; he cannot admit within this model that we are all joint searchers for new truth.

#### THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ERA

What are some of the minimal learnings which are essential if we are to make successfully the METAtransformation between the industrial era and the communications era? We must understand that we are in the middle of a revolution in our patterns of thinking as profound as the Copernican revolution. Let me list very briefly some of the most critically needed new realizations:

1. We must recognize that objectivity is an impossible condition; that what we call "objectivity" is simply a particular form of subjectivity.

Every person necessarily sees the world differently; the pattern of perception depends on the genetic and cultural past, the vision of the future, and the particular role that the individual is playing at a particular time. There is no single truth. We can, however, merge our visions and thus discover courses of action which are satisfactory for all those involved.

2. The world must be seen in win-win terms.

There is a profound sense in which the natural order is a "win-win" order. In proposing the possibility of a win-win system, I join with Teilard de Chardin, the Catholic theologian, who believed that we could move toward higher degrees of self-development and self-actualization.

3. We must develop an understanding of the meaning of "enoughness."

The industrial era was based on the idea that more was always better than less. The communications era will necessarily be based on the belief that one should choose a role for oneself and then be able to obtain the amount of resources required to live the role one has chosen, neither less nor more.

Enoughness is a psychic state of mind. It assumes that there is a limit to what one needs. It also assumes that the planet can be so organized that we can produce enough for all.



4. We shall have to understand that equality is an impossible goal and must be replaced with the concept of diversity.

Diversity implies that each individual will have the opportunity to develop himself to the maximum of his or her capacity but that we shall accept that each person's potentials are profoundly different.

5. We shall have to learn to make decisions on the basis of the available, relevant information rather than in terms of the power of one group or another to compel a solution favorable to their interests. In effect, we must replace authority based on the power to command (structural authority) with authority based on competence and knowledge (sapiential authority.)

*The Whole Earth Catalog* has as its motto, "We are as Gods and we had better get good at it." Man is now managing the earth. We are only now starting to find out what this means. We must learn in a hurry.

#### HOW SHOULD WE THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE?

It should be obvious that my views on the future are very different from those of most futurists.

Until recently, the only respectable school of futurists was the one which claimed that there would be no major change in conditions in coming decades. Herman Kahn, Daniel Bell, and other well-known figures fall into this class. They argue that the world in the year 2000 will be a larger but nevertheless recognizable version of the world of today. In their view, no massive or fundamental changes can reasonably be expected.

This school has been challenged for many years by students and others who argue that a continuation of the present into the future is intolerable and has to be stopped in any possible way. The challenge to this view has only recently become public property with the publication of work by authors such as Jay Forrester and Dennis Meadows who have shown effectively the truth of the ten-year-old statement made by Dennis Gabor, the 1972 Nobel prize winner in physics: "In today's world all curves are exponential. It is only in mathematics that exponential curves grow to infinity. In real life they either break down

gently or they saturate catastrophically. It is our duty as thinking men to strive toward a gentle saturation."

We cannot, therefore, continue in the same direction. Charles Reich suggests that the necessary changes are actually already taking place. He argues in *The Greening of America* that man is undergoing a profound transition in his value structures and that this transition will suffice to change the world.

I believe that such a viewpoint makes our problems seem too easy. I agree that a change in motivation and patterns is taking place and that it is this change which gives us any hope of meeting the challenges we presently face. But I do not believe that we shall automatically manage the METAtransition which is upon us without great effort and imagination.

It is now clear that the responsibility for handling this META transformation is not allocated to any existing institution or group of people. The industrial era believed that it was important to increase man's power to do what he wanted to do. It did not consider it important to develop social mechanisms to determine what man *ought* to do.

The profound issue which now faces us is whether we shall be able to find the new institutional structures we so obviously and urgently need. Given the fact that the responsibility for this task has not been allocated by cultural tradition, some of us will have to commit ourselves to managing the transition from the industrial era to the communications era. Far too few people are working in this way at the present time. The survival of mankind will depend on the rapid growth of the number involved in this task.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> To gain an understanding of the various views of the future see Robert Theobald, ed., *Futures Conditional* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1972); for one vision of events over the next twenty years see Robert Theobald and J. M. Scott, *Teg's 1994* (Chicago: Swallow, 1972).

# *National Priorities: Platform for Progress*

LEONARD WOODCOCK

THE UNDERTOW OF UNREASON runs very strong just below the surface of our national life, and too frequently in recent years it has risen up to cause panic and claim its victims. Very recent history tells us that entire nations and peoples can be engulfed in the tides of hate and blood. We have no special immunity from such a fate. This nation too runs the risk of being overwhelmed by irrational hatreds and carried down into a long wave of fratricidal violence unless we insist upon reasoned dialogue, a reaffirmation, and active protection of the constitutional right of peaceful dissent; and unless all of us vigorously demonstrate, through specific, progressive action in this critical year and the years that follow, that the tide of democratic reason is the stronger tide; that the party of humanity, brotherhood, and social justice is the party of our present and our future.

END THE WAR

The single greatest present barrier to our confident forward movement toward an open, genuinely civilized society in the United States has been our obsessed entanglement in the Indo-China war. The first plank in a realistic platform for progress, it seems to me, is to stop making more casualties, more refugees, and more prisoners of war, by a flat declaration that we are ready to withdraw, as soon as we can get our remaining troops out of their bases and Hanoi's prison camps and on to the home-

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ward-bound boats and planes, and provide refuge or a negotiated amnesty for those Vietnamese whose active collaboration with the United States has put their lives in jeopardy.

It is a delusion to assume that we can carry through any ambitious, coherent, long-term program for the renewal and reconstruction of America's social life as long as we remain manacled to the struggle in Indochina. That war has been a drain on our resources; a major source, along with other military waste, of our domestic inflation; and a drain on our self-esteem and our sense of community as a free and democratic nation. Our involvement in Indochina has caused a dangerous diversion of our attention from our prime obligations. Our national security and well-being are threatened not in Southeast Asia but in our own backyard. Throughout the years of this longest of our wars, instead of giving our attention to vast and mounting problems of social welfare and justice in our homeland, we have been dissipating our energies in Asia and fostering social neglect and a festering social warfare among ourselves. We seem to have forgotten that our first obligation to ourselves and to history is to assure the continuing vitality of democratic institutions and the democratic way of life here in this country.

#### A NEW BEGINNING NOW

But while we need to end the war in order to give our major attention to an ambitious, sustained effort of domestic renewal and reconstruction, we need not and we cannot afford to wait for the war's end to revise our national priorities and begin to modify our disastrous domestic course.

Any genuine national effort to come to grips with the social ills of the American people must begin with the creation of a full-employment economy. We desperately need in this nation a rising economic tide which, in the words of the late President Kennedy, will "lift all the boats"; more specifically, one which will create useful and rewarding job opportunities for every American who wants to work.

On Labor Day and other more or less appropriate occasions, American notables can be counted on to praise the strong role of

our national "work ethic." Even antiunion measures are camouflaged with language that makes them appear what they are not. So laws which prohibit union shop contracts freely bargained between managements and unions are quaintly called "right-to-work" laws, although they confer no right to steady employment on any worker.

President Nixon has observed the custom of extolling the American work ethic despite what might be regarded as the embarrassing circumstance of his having entered into office in 1969 when the unemployment rate was 3.6 percent and then, through deliberate policy decisions, having driven the official unemployment rate up to 6.2 percent in December, 1970, the sharpest increase in twenty-one years for any like period of time. While we are now said to be in a period of recovery, and while it is true that large corporations are enjoying record profits, it is hard to discern any recovery worthy of the name so far as people out of work are concerned. The official unemployment rate has been holding at 5.9 percent; if we add to the officially unemployed all those who are actually unemployed and want to work but have become discouraged and have withdrawn from the labor market, the true level of total unemployment in the United States amounts to the equivalent of 6.5 to 7 million full-time jobs.

Unemployment does not fall, as the rain from heaven, on the just and unjust, the rich and poor alike. It falls, of course, primarily upon the most weak and vulnerable in our society: the poor, the black, and the young. And because its impact is so unfair, unemployment is not only an economic hardship but a destructive social plague, perpetuating poverty, creating despair and bitterness, eating away at the stability of family life, fostering crime, and eroding the bonds of community essential to the ongoing life of a democratic society presumably dedicated to the worth and dignity of each human being. Unemployment, obviously, has not been clearly seen in that light by the present Administration. Despite lip service to the vague concept of a work ethic, White House policies have destroyed many more job opportunities than they have generated.

The work ethic, if it is to be anything more than one of those

comfortable myths that are dragged out from the wings on ceremonial occasions, must be defined as Americans working, all Americans who need and want to work. When five million Americans are sentenced to joblessness because neither the private sector nor the government will create jobs for them, the work ethic is robbed of its substance, it is mocked and destroyed through the failures of government and business.

The truth of the matter is that since the Second World War this country has not come close to sustaining full employment without resort to the stimulus of war and defense spending, which amounts to a vast government subsidy to industry. Our national mythology, however, has, until just recently, frowned upon government subsidies or other programs that directly benefit people in the form of income maintenance, health care, or jobs.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had to contend with the massive unemployment generated by the collapse of unregulated business enterprise in the 1930s, proposed an Economic Bill of Rights that included the right to a job, but it took the Second World War to bring full employment to the United States. In 1946, when the economic stimulus of the war had vanished, the Employment Act of 1946 declared that it is the policy and responsibility of the federal government to create and maintain: "conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

That commitment, however, was never carried out. We have made do, in the matter of employment, with the Korean War, the Indochina war, and the nuclear arms race, swollen Defense Department budgets, production inefficiencies, and a multibillion-dollar waste of taxpayers' dollars. And when war and defense spending did not take up the slack, millions of Americans suffered from four recessions, including the one brought on by the first Nixon "game plan."

Billions of dollars needed to fund essential domestic programs to raise the quality of life, and which would have the further ef-



fect of employing the jobless, have been diverted under the current game plan into a lavish tax subsidy for the larger corporations. Typically, this subsidy to encourage industry to invest in new plants and equipment has been dubbed a "job-development credit." In fact, it will much more probably turn out to be a "job-destruction" program. With 26 percent of industrial capacity idle, industry investment spurred by this tax bonanza will be for modernization, which is to say for more efficient productive facilities, and higher productivity in the absence of expanding markets means fewer workers.

What the American economy needs now is not further subsidies to corporations but a massive government initiative to employ jobless Americans. The National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress proposed in 1966 that the federal government should become the "employer of last resort" for millions of would-be workers who could not find jobs in the private economy. The Commission estimated that over five million jobs could be created through public service employment to meet needs in such areas as medical, health, and educational institutions, home care, public protection, and urban renewal and sanitation.

For years that sensible proposal was in limbo. Until public and Congressional pressure obliged the President to approve a minuscule version of the 1966 public service employment program, much of the energy of the President and of the former Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally had gone not into the creation of jobs but into an attempt to revise the definition of "full employment" by retreating from the already disgraceful target rate of 4 percent unemployment to a still higher rate.

What can be said of such callous games in the presence of human hardship and misery, and in a country so richly endowed with productive capabilities? Henry Ford II told a meeting of Ford stockholders that a corporation "cannot hire people merely because they need work."<sup>1</sup> We understand what Mr. Ford is saying; but what we have to say to Mr. Ford and Mr. Nixon is that

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, May 12, 1972.

since the efficiency and profitability of private industry are defined and assured by a narrow economic calculus that cannot afford to take account of such broader social consequences of business behavior as unemployment, then a democratic government, constitutionally mandated to promote the general welfare, must deal effectively with those consequences.

It is inconceivable that this country, which has contributed so much to the invention and assertion of human rights, has been so laggard in guaranteeing the basic social and economic rights without which political rights are seriously impaired or entirely emptied of substance. The United States has lagged far behind a number of industrialized countries in maintaining high levels of employment. The average rate of unemployment for Japan and five major European nations (France, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and West Germany) for the years 1959 through 1970 was 2 percent, when measured on the same basis as the American unemployment rate. And we are moving away from, not toward, socially responsible and compassionate full-employment goals.

No program for human, democratic progress in this nation can be viable without primary stress on the basic economic right to a meaningful, rewarding job. Of immediate importance is the enactment of an amendment to the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 to create a "jobs now" program intended to produce 500,000 public service jobs directly. Another important and dramatic action that the United Automobile Workers advocates, and which I hope you will urge upon the President and the Congress, is the creation of a civilian equivalent of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to coordinate America's scientific, technical, and production resources for the effort of fulfilling high-priority civilian needs.

#### PUBLIC GROUND RULES FOR PRIVATE DECISIONS

It is not my intention to be unkind or discourteous to Mr. Ford; but it so happens that Mr. Ford's remarks, as reported in the press, have the virtue of setting forth important questions of corporate responsibility in high relief. For example:



Mr. Ford told the stockholders . . . that a business must first be profitable to survive and serve any function; that if the corporation devoted attention primarily to social rather than basic economic needs, the economic need would suffer. He said that corporations just were not equipped to handle social problems and that when they tried to do so the results are likely to be disappointing.<sup>2</sup>

You will observe that Mr. Ford has attempted to engineer an impossible dichotomy between social and economic needs, as if the social and economic aspects of life were experienced on different planets. But such a basic economic need as having a job is also very clearly a basic social need, both for the affected person and the society, and therefore, despite Mr. Ford, for the corporation as well. Mr. Ford, in effect, is attempting to get away with the contention that the issue of corporate responsibility which has been raised so insistently by so many Americans as consumers, workers, and citizens is really a nonissue. In fact, however, it is one of the most vital questions of this time in the United States.

We have reached such a high degree of economic and social interdependence in this nation that, as the ecologists say of our impacts upon the environment, we cannot do just one thing. When General Motors or Ford or any other large or even mid-dling-sized corporation "does its own thing," guided only by its own considerations of its own efficiency and profitability, it creates social and economic problems for its workers and their communities, and the aggregate impact of millions of such self-regarding decisions can translate into colossal social and economic inefficiency from the standpoint of society.

There is probably no good reason why the average corporation should take a stand for or against abortion on demand or off-track betting. But as we have learned in the past few years, the American public is no longer inclined, for example, to tolerate private corporate decisions to produce unsafe and polluting cars or to use our commonly owned air and waters as sewers. The UAW, and I am sure most of the labor movement, wants a

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

similar lack of public tolerance to prevail with respect to private management decisions to shut down plants and transfer operations, with resulting hardship on workers, their families, and their communities.

Here again, the American government lags behind the practice in other industrialized countries. In Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and elsewhere, such decisions are subject to government approval under laws that take into account the possible effects of corporate action on the public welfare and the optimum distribution of social and economic resources within the nation. Similar legislation is needed in the United States as an essential instrument of any comprehensive full-employment policy. American corporations operating in those nations have no choice but to temper their freewheeling habits to conform with the host country's laws. They go where they are licensed to go, and they behave as they are required to behave. If such socially responsible behavior can be obtained through law in Britain and Scandinavia and generally throughout the Common Market countries, there is no reason to suppose that comparable laws cannot obtain comparable results in the United States.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY IMPROVEMENT

American workers have many anxieties and insecurities that impair the quality of their lives, but which can be remedied or substantially relieved if those of us who are personally and professionally touched by such matters can develop the political means, in concert with other citizens, to elect a national leadership conscious of this country's need for a more generous and compassionate social ethic.

It might be said of most working men and women in this country that as they grow older, they tend to trade their earlier fears of job loss for the nagging anxiety that they may be reduced to poverty in retirement and old age. Federal Social Security is the prime source of income for the great majority of the old, the widowed, and the handicapped in America. Yet, despite frequent amendments, Social Security benefits remain shame-

fully inadequate, poverty and near poverty are rampant among those who depend solely upon Social Security, and the shock of retirement has escalated as the income gap between the working and the retired has continued to widen.

No serious effort since the early 1950s has been made to adjust benefits to reflect the rise in living standards of most Americans. The Congress has consistently failed to develop a Social Security system adequate to assure present and future beneficiaries the basic income needed for the comfort, security, and dignity they should be able to enjoy after a lifetime of work.

Next to a vigorous push toward a full-employment economy through immediate implementation of a public service job program, perhaps the most effective means of regenerating not only the economy but our national self-regard would be a comprehensive reform of the Social Security system. This would have the dual effect of lifting millions of Americans out of serious deprivation while at the same time stimulating a sluggish recovery through a rapid increase in consumer demand.

To increase benefits promptly, on the way to the ultimate goal of a retirement income of at least two thirds of one's average earnings in the latter years before leaving the work force, regularly adjusted to meet changing economic conditions, we must gradually reduce our reliance on the regressive payroll tax in favor of contributions from general federal tax revenues, until there is an equal sharing of costs among workers, employers, and government.

#### HEALTH CARE REFORM

A platform for progress in America must include among its primary objectives the reform of our present archaic health care system. We can transplant organs and perform other miracles in the operating room; but we cannot assure the ghetto or rural resident of even routine medical care.

Our private health insurance industry likes to boast that four fifths of the civilian population has *some* private health insurance. Yet three fifths of consumer expenditures for personal health care come out of pocket. Inflation lightens the purse of

all but a few affluent Americans; but medical care costs, increasing about 12 percent each year, breed an insidious potential for pauperizing even the wealthy, given catastrophic health expenses.

America has made great strides in two key indices of health—infant and maternal mortality; but our relative ranking in health indices, compared to that of other industrialized nations, has declined, great geographic and racial disparities in mortality rates widen, and life expectancy is enhanced not one whit.

As chairman of the Committee for National Health Insurance, I ask your support in reforming the gross inequities in our health care system. The Griffiths-Corman-Kennedy Health Security program, now before Congress, would provide a federal health insurance program, financed in a manner similar to the present Social Security program but with substantial general revenue support. Administration would be federalized but highly decentralized. A nearly complete range of preventive, curative, and rehabilitative services would be made available to each and every American regardless of income, age, employment status, geographical location, race, or sex.

Health Security would go beyond providing for national health insurance. Our health problems today are as much rooted in institutions and prevailing modes of practice as they are in health care costs and disparate ability to pay. While the forces of organized medicine back a health insurance proposal which would perpetuate our cottage-industry approach to medical care delivery, Health Security would spend a part of the revenues collected to improve the delivery system. Incentives would be provided to physicians who choose to practice in comprehensive health service organizations and other organized forms of practice; monies would be allocated to train medical manpower in professions where demand exceeds supply; incentives would be paid to those medical practitioners who elect to practice in areas where manpower is in short supply.

Health Security is not "socialized" or "nationalized" medicine. It does not posit a national health service where hospitals, physi-

cians, dentists, and other independent practitioners are employed directly by the state. Financing and administration would become public functions, but the furnishing of medical care would be left in the private sector, with wide choices for different patterns of practice carefully preserved.

Many of the other health insurance proposals before Congress perpetuate caste and class medicine. Several different plans, with halfway benefits and substantial, direct payments to patients, are proposed for those who work, the elderly, the poor, the medically indigent, and poor risks. Health Security would be a single comprehensive system for all Americans.

Only Health Security would offer a total, rational, integrated approach to America's health care needs and demands. Its premise is that every American is entitled to good health as a right. Freedom from worry over the cost and accessibility of health care is viewed as a necessary precondition to the ability of each and every citizen to achieve his or her full potential.

National Health Security must be one of our great national objectives; but while we continue to work for its enactment, we must insist on substantial reform now of Medicare and Medicaid. Medicare and Medicaid are a complicated patchwork of services limited in scope and accessibility, excessively costly, and provided through fragmented systems which are clearly deficient in both cost and quality controls. Pending the passage of the National Health Security bill, parts A and B of Medicare should be combined under a single program and extended to all Social Security beneficiaries. That program should be financed by payroll taxes and general revenue contributions (without Part B premiums), and it should provide a full range of comprehensive services without patient deductibles, or copayments, or time-and-dollar limitations on benefits.

Similarly, while we work for passage of Health Security, a single, federally funded Medicaid program should be established to provide a comprehensive range of services, easily accessible under national, uniform eligibility conditions, and coordinated in their application and administration.

## PROTECTION FOR PRIVATE PENSION RIGHTS

In 1949, as a result of the inadequacy of Social Security retirement benefits and the lack of any effective private pension programs in our industries, the UAW raised the pension issue as a prime subject for bargaining with automotive employers. Today, over thirty million working men and women in the United States are enrolled in private pension plans with total assets of \$135 billion. But this imposing reservoir of wealth rests on the shifting sands of an economy which is shot through with insecurities—frequently for smaller employers, but mostly for workers who stand to lose not only their jobs but some or all of their pension rights when companies fail or plants are shut down and pension plans, sound as well as unsound, are terminated. The worker has built up his pension credits and his hopes over the years, then suddenly his pension promises are wiped out; for many workers the blow falls after years on the job, and at an age when their chances of acquiring new benefit entitlements are meager.

Nationally, about 500 pension plans involving over 25,000 workers have been terminated annually. As a result of the spate of corporate mergers, the growth in multiplant and conglomerate corporations, and the recession brought on by the Administration's misguided anti-inflation policies, the rate of termination is rising. During the ten-year period ending with 1969, an average of ten UAW negotiated pension plans was terminated each year. In 1970, some twenty plans were lost. In 1971, the number rose to forty.

This is not the largest problem confronting American workers, but it is a serious problem, and there are about thirty million men and women who today or tomorrow may suddenly find that it is their problem. We in the UAW have been seeking action in the Congress to apply the well-established principle of federal reinsurance, which has proved effective in the matter of bank deposits, to the protection of pension promises. We are asking for immediate enactment of a broadly based federal reinsurance program to protect the worker's entitlement in the event



of pension plan termination as a result of business failures, and to establish standards of fiduciary responsibility uniformly applicable to all individuals and institutions charged with pension fund management.

#### HEALTH AND SAFETY ON THE JOB

A diffuse injuring and destruction of men and women who work in American industry goes on day after day in a kind of neglected and half-forgotten war waged in the name of production. During 1970, the last year for which figures are available, that war claimed the lives of 14,200 workers and 2.2 million casualties suffered disabling injuries.

As a result of the new environmental consciousness and union protest over rapidly rising in-plant hazards stemming from new processes and substances, enough pressure was brought upon Congress to enact the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. The clear and present danger now is that this very promising law, which sets uniform national standards, provides for active worker and union participation in the whole process of achieving and maintaining occupational health and safety, will fail for lack of vigorous implementation. It has been estimated that at the present pace it would take over 150 years before each of the 4.1 million workplaces would be inspected even once.

Workers' rights and protections under the law are being slighted or ignored. It appears that almost 75 percent of all workplaces inspected to date are in violation of the law; but the fines being imposed tend to be so minimal as to provide no incentive to employers to maintain safe and healthful premises.

The states, although they must bear the primary responsibility to implement the law under federal standards, are not for the most part showing adequate movement in making needed improvements in their own occupational safety and health laws and in the upgrading of competence in administration.

Labor, of course, insists that the administration of the law shall be adequately funded. We demand that labor be accepted as a full and equal partner by the Department of Labor in the development of policy and programs. And we shall continue to

give very high priority to the law's full and vigorous implementation.

We in labor, moreover, strongly recommend that the general public, and particularly those Americans who are seriously and actively engaged in seeking to build a more open, just, and humane society, also give close attention to the fate of this law and join with labor in demanding that it be vigorously enforced; for it becomes more evident each day that environmental deterioration is a pervasive fact of life in industrial nations. Pollution of the work environment is one with pollution in the broader community, and all of us must make common cause in coping with it.

#### POVERTY, URBAN DETERIORATION, RURAL NEGLECT

We will never progress toward a more open and equitable society by undifferentiated growth and piecemeal reform. If we are to deal with such vast and complex problems as the decay of cities and urban life, the decay of rural regions, and the deterioration of our environment, we must have an overview of a complex of problems, such as those that comprise the urban predicament; and we must develop priorities and procedures for democratic national planning which will enable us to bring comprehensive solutions to comprehensive dilemmas.

We need, as I suggested, the equivalent of NASA to coordinate and undertake massive tasks such as producing new housing, and to bring a complete systems approach to the construction of new towns. We need a comprehensive land-use policy, and a comprehensive growth policy that will take into realistic account such sensitive factors as population growth and rising pressures on finite resources.

The major obstacles to an effective attack on such complex and intractable problems as poverty and urban decay are not really technical or economic. Rather the obstacles are intangible: a lack of will and a deteriorating sense of community. It has been pointed out time and time again that we landed astronauts on the moon because we mustered the will to conceive and carry out a space program. We have neglected our urban centers and



our rural regions because we have not summoned a comparable will to renew them.

We desperately need a full-employment economy. We just as desperately need a new set of values and priorities, capable of directing and wisely using our labor and other great resources toward life-enhancing rather than destructive ends.

There is a crying need for more responsible government which will not only, in the words of the late Harvard economist Wassily Leontief, conduct "rescue operations made necessary by the inability of the traditional system of private enterprise to deal effectively with all kinds of problems created by economic growth and the headlong rush of technological change."<sup>3</sup>

We need government that will assert a general will to channel that headlong rush of technological change, not just for the profit of corporations but to create a humane society in a decent environment. Thus, ultimately, we inevitably move from the advocacy of issues to the formation of new values and to the translation of values into new national priorities through the electoral and political process.

I earnestly hope that the concerned citizens of this republic will spur that process forward in this election year.

<sup>3</sup> W. Leontief, Introduction to George McGovern, "On Taxing and Redistributing Income," *New York Review of Books*, May 4, 1972, p. 7.

# *Politics of National Health Insurance*

EUGENE FEINGOLD

PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL health insurance have come to the fore in American politics from time to time during the past fifty years, with little success. However, the prospects for enactment of some kind of national health insurance seem much better now than ever before. The critical phrase, however, is "some kind." There are more than forty bills before the 92d Congress, representing a dozen different proposals.<sup>1</sup> Many of these proposals differ substantially in their content, likely effects, and, not surprisingly, in their underlying social values.

Three of the most important proposals perhaps most clearly embody the different values that underly proposals for dealing with social problems. These are: the Medcredit plan, put forth by the American Medical Association (AMA); the Family Health Insurance Plan and National Health Insurance Standards Act, put forth by the Administration; and the Health Security bill, introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy and supported by the AFL-CIO. Although the details of these plans have been, and will be, modified during the legislative process, the main thrust and their underlying values will remain.

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<sup>1</sup> The Appendix to Sylvester E. Berki, "National Health Insurance: an Idea Whose Time Has Come?" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCXCIX, No. 1 (1972), 125-44, lists those bills introduced in the first session of the 92d Congress. The article itself is an excellent discussion of some of the major proposals for national health insurance, and my analysis of these proposals in part draws upon Berki's discussion. A detailed analysis of the principal proposals, together with cost estimates for these proposals, was published by the House Committee on Ways and Means in August, 1971, as a committee print entitled "Analysis of Health Insurance Proposals Introduced in the 92nd Congress." The tables at the end of this article are adapted from that committee print.

## MEDICREDIT

Medicredit is essentially a proposal to liberalize the present deductibility of health insurance expenses in computing federal income taxes and extend it to persons who do not have a tax liability. Medicredit would permit a credit against tax liability for all or part of the cost of health insurance, with the extent of the credit depending on one's tax liability.<sup>2</sup> Those whose federal income taxes would otherwise exceed \$890 a year would be entitled to a credit of 10 percent of the cost of an approved basic health insurance plan; those whose taxes would otherwise be less than one dollar would be entitled to a credit of 100 percent; those with intermediate liabilities would be entitled to intermediate credits. Persons whose credits exceeded their tax liability would have the excess refunded. Those whose taxable income was so low that they would not pay any tax would receive a certificate that could be used to pay for an approved basic health insurance plan. In addition, a credit or certificate for the entire premium for approved catastrophic insurance would be available to all, regardless of income.

This is a voluntary plan; no one would be required to have health insurance, but all United States residents except those eligible for Medicare would be eligible for a tax credit or certificate on application. The services covered by approved health insurance plans would be comprehensive, but there would be coinsurance and deductibles; that is, the insured would be expected to pay a portion of his medical care expenses at the time he received the care or afterward.

Not surprisingly, since it is proposed by providers of medical

<sup>2</sup> Present law permits the taxpayer to deduct one half of his health insurance premiums, plus those other expenses (including the other half of his health insurance premiums) which exceed 3 percent of his adjusted gross income. This is a deduction; that is, it is subtracted from his income in determining the amount of income on which tax is due. The value of this deduction depends on the tax bracket of the taxpayer; like other deductions, it is worth more to the taxpayer whose effective tax rate is higher. A credit, on the other hand, such as that provided for in the Medicredit proposal, is deducted from the amount of tax one owes rather than from the amount of one's income. Thus it has the same cash value to all taxpayers.

care, the plan states that providers are to be paid their usual and customary charges, with no limits on the amount of these charges or of the insurance premiums. The plan would be administered by private carriers (insurance companies and Blue Cross-Blue Shield) under regulations and minimum federal standards prescribed by a Health Insurance Advisory Board, the majority of whose members would be practicing physicians. Finally, federal officials would be prohibited from exercising any "supervision or control over the practice of medicine or the manner in which medical services are provided, or over the selection, tenure, or compensations of any officer or employee or any institution, agency, or person providing health services; or . . . over the administration or operation of any such institution, agency, or person."<sup>3</sup>

#### NIXON ADMINISTRATION PROPOSALS

*Private insurance.* The Nixon Administration proposals would, first, require employers to make a private health insurance policy available to their employees as a fringe benefit financed by employer-employee contributions. This would not apply to government employees or to persons eligible for Medicare. It also, by definition, would not apply to the unemployed, although coverage could be continued, if the employee desired, and largely at his own expense, if his employment terminated after he had been under the plan for at least thirteen weeks. Benefits covered would be hospital, medical, laboratory, and ambulance services, subject to deductibles and coinsurance, and with a lifetime limit on the total amount of services any person could have. The plan would be administered by the private insurance carriers from which the employers would purchase the insurance.

*Family Health Insurance Plan.* The Administration would establish a Family Health Insurance Plan (FHIP) for low-income families, with children, not covered by an employer plan. Benefits for each person would be limited to thirty days of in-

<sup>3</sup> Section 2023, S. 987, 92d Congress, First Session.

patient care and eight visits to a physician per year. Families would be classified into one of thirty-five groups on the basis of their income and family size, with the amount and nature of required deductibles and coinsurance dependent on the class to which the family belonged. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) would be responsible for administration of FHIP, including determination of eligibility, which would last for six months, with redetermination at six-month intervals. Payment of claims would be made by private insurance carriers, as under the Medicare program. FHIP would be financed by premium payments from families in all but the lowest income class and from federal general revenues.

*Medicare and Medicaid.* Medicare and the existing program for federal employees would continue. Medicaid would continue, but only for the aged, the blind, and the disabled. Single adults and families without children not covered by an employer plan, and not falling into one of these public assistance categories, would have no coverage under the Administration's plan.

Payment for providers would be on the same basis as presently used for Medicare—"reasonable charges" for physicians and other personnel and "reasonable costs" for hospitals and other facilities. Local medical societies or other local boards of physicians would review the quality and appropriateness of services provided and payments claimed. No other utilization or quality controls are specified.

*Health maintenance organizations.* Finally, provision is made for health maintenance organizations (HMOs)—public or private organizations which would provide health services to their members on a prepayment basis. Under both FHIP and employer plans, the insured would have the option of joining an HMO. HMOs are modeled on prepaid group practices, but the description in the Administration bill is broad enough to include a variety of other kinds of organizations, whether organized for profit or not, which provide or arrange to provide services in return for a premium.

## KENNEDY PLAN

The Kennedy Health Security plan would establish a compulsory national health insurance program covering all United States residents. The program would be financed by a payroll tax on employers and employees, a tax on unearned income, and general revenues. It would cover essentially all services, with some limits on psychiatric, dental, pharmaceutical, and nursing home services. There would be no deductibles or co-insurance: all medical care would be free of any direct cost to the patient at the time of service or afterward. The program would be administered by HEW under the control of a full-time board appointed by the President. This board would be advised by a National Advisory Council, the majority of whose members would be consumers; there would be similar advisory councils at the local level. The Medicare program would be eliminated. Health expenditures would be budgeted and physicians paid through a system which would discourage fee-for-service payment and encourage group practice. Hospitals would be paid on the basis of approved budgets rather than on the basis of costs or charges as at present. There would be quality standards and financial incentives for efficiency and allocation of resources to regions without adequate medical personnel and facilities. HEW would be directed to plan to improve the supply and distribution of manpower and facilities and the organization of health services, in cooperation with state governments. Grants and loans would be available for developing new health service systems and for training health manpower.

In short, the provisions of the Kennedy bill would involve extensive changes in the organization of medical care. This is in sharp contrast to *Medicredit*, which would leave the organization of medical care exactly as it is today but provide additional (essentially unlimited) funds to pay for care. It is also quite different from the Nixon plan, which would retain the basic contours of existing practice, but provide some incentives for change.

IDEOLOGIES

In the past, discussion of the financing and delivery of medical care in the United States has been polarized around the term "socialized medicine." Although it was not clear just what socialized medicine was, the conflict was clearly dichotomized into the left, which favored it, and the right, led by the AMA, which opposed it.

This is a greatly oversimplified view of the issues; it is really more accurate to view the conflict as one between four kinds of interests and ideologies.<sup>4</sup> That the conflict is four-way rather than two-way is important, as this leaves room for shifting alliances to determine the outcome.

1. *Classical capitalist.* The first ideology is that the private fee-for-service solo practitioner as represented by the AMA. This is a classical capitalist position, concerned with freedom of the individual to pursue his own economic interests, the rights of private property, and the need to inhibit government action which would otherwise impinge on these freedoms and rights.

For the classical capitalist, the central value is freedom of the individual; that is, the ability of the individual to make autonomous choices in his own interest. Each individual should be free to pursue his own desires without regard for others' attitudes or needs. He is responsible for his own actions and accepts the consequences of these actions. Failure or success is deserved, and is the result of the exercise, or failure to exercise, of such virtues as thrift and hard work. "Both the economic and

<sup>4</sup> The classical capitalist and the managerial ideologies are discussed in detail by Francis X. Sutton *et al.* in *The American Business Creed* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956) as "classical" and "managerial" versions of the American business creed. Sutton and his colleagues do not discuss these ideologies with reference to medical care, but with reference to the economy and society as a whole. Avedis Donabedian, "Social Responsibility for Personal Health Services: an Examination of Basic Values," *Inquiry*, VIII, No. 2 (1971), 3-19, provides excellent brief statements of the ideologies I have called "classical capitalist" and "liberal," which he calls "viewpoint A" and "viewpoint B," or the "libertarian" and "egalitarian" viewpoints. Donabedian's discussion places these ideologies in a medical care setting.



moral well-being of the individual and of the society are considered to depend on the integrity of a reward system that distributes goods and services in proportion to the magnitude and value of the individual effort expended to earn them.”<sup>5</sup>

Another central concept of the classical capitalist is the market, which provides the means of regulating and coordinating human activity. This is the vehicle of coordination which is most conducive to individual freedom. Because they are concerned with the freedom of the individual, classical capitalists are concerned about governmental power. Government action is wrong not only because it is an infringement on individual liberty, it also is inefficient. Governments are not creative; individuals are. Governments do not produce anything; only the private economy does. Government does not have a profit motive, and so has no basis for measuring its efficiency or even desiring to be efficient.

For the classical capitalist, government should not have a moral purpose; that belongs only in the private domain. Assistance for the poor should be left to individual charity as much as possible. Among other advantages, this encourages close personal relationships between the giver and the receiver. If charity is not to be individual, but collective, it should be under private, rather than governmental auspices. The level of such assistance, public or private, should be kept low, and it should be difficult to get in order to encourage thrift and hard work and discourage shiftlessness.

The classical capitalists oppose social insurance not only because they favor charity, but also because they see social insurance as a restriction on the freedom of the individual, who should have the right to decide whether or not he wants health insurance, unemployment compensation, or other benefits included under the rubric of social insurance. Moreover, they would assert that social insurance is not really insurance. Unlike a private insurance company, which maintains reserves adequate to pay off its policy-holders, the Social Security system

<sup>5</sup> Donabedian, *op. cit.*, p. 4.



does not have adequate reserves. Moreover, because of the inefficiency of government, funds invested in social insurance would produce more for the taxpayer if they were invested in private insurance.

Both Medigap and the Nixon proposals stem from this set of values. Both are voluntary. Neither would require that anyone have health insurance, although there is an element of compulsion in the Nixon plan in that employers would be compelled to offer health insurance to their employees. Both would be administered by private insurers, with the providers largely self-regulated. Both would require the insured, to the greatest extent possible, to pay part of the cost of the insurance, through premiums and through direct payments in connection with the receipt of medical services. That this might discourage utilization, that the initiative required under Medigap in order for a nontaxpayer to get the certificate paying for his insurance might prevent some from getting insurance, that the Nixon plan specifically excludes certain groups and relies on state initiative for others, are all less important than the need to require some payment from all and to distinguish between those who have achieved material success and those who have not.

2. *Managerial*. The second ideology is that of "the medical-industrial complex"<sup>6</sup>—the drug industry, the hospital supply industry, the health insurers, the proprietary hospital and nursing home chains, and, to some extent, the large medical centers and the medical schools, hospitals, and other facilities of which they are composed. Their relationship to the solo practitioner is similar to the relationship between a large corporation and a small corner-store proprietor. Their ideology is similar to that of the corporate manager. They are concerned not with the maintenance of the free market but with maintenance of their organizations, and of a situation which will provide financial stability and growth for them. This ideology is an outgrowth of

<sup>6</sup> Barbara and John Ehrenreich, *The American Health Empire: Power, Profits and Politics* (New York: Random House [Vintage Books], 1970), *passim*.

the classical capitalist ideology and often reflects similar values, particularly with regard to the "undeserving poor." However, instead of stressing individual freedom, the managerialists stress mutual interdependence and the responsibility of the manager to balance the interests of employees, stockholders, customers, and the public at large. They want to rationalize health, as other areas of the economy have been rationalized. They are willing to use government power as a vehicle to achieve this rationalization and they do not have the classical capitalists' concern about limiting government power.

The managerialist group also finds both Medcredit and the Nixon plan congenial to its values. However, they are concerned about growth and stability, and are less concerned about the free market and the freedom of the individual than are the classical capitalists. They therefore prefer the Nixon plan to Medcredit because the Nixon plan would, through its small element of compulsion, make it more likely that some health insurance will be almost universal. This would give these organized providers, financing agencies, and commercial interests a guaranteed market, helping assure the growth and stability they seek.

3. *Liberal.* The third ideology is that of the medical care liberals. These are the people who find the present medical care system unsatisfactory primarily because they feel it does not deliver comprehensive, unfragmented medical care to all, regardless of economic status or geographic location. This group consists of the students of medical care organization in schools of public health and certain persons associated with academic medicine, especially those concerned with what is called "preventive medicine" and "community medicine." The political muscle undergirding these academics comes from organized labor, which shares the ideology and is concerned about the increasing cost of collectively bargained health insurance benefits.

These liberals come to their position from a concern about the ills of man. The market place is unsatisfactory to them because it leaves society with problems of poverty, unemployment, and unmet needs for medical care. They wish to rational-

ize the medical care system in order to control costs and to make medical care generally available.

For the liberals, freedom is more than the absence of government restraints; freedom can also be hampered by unfavorable conditions, and the government has a role to play in eliminating these conditions, thus enhancing individual liberty. They do not see failure or success as a matter of individual moral merit but as the result of inadequacies in the social and economic systems, inadequacies which can and should be remedied by social action. They feel that certain basic needs, among them that for medical care, should be served as a matter of right. One way of doing this is through social insurance, which is preferable to charity.

The liberals find Medigap and the Nixon proposals unsatisfactory for precisely the aspects of these proposals that the classical capitalists and the managerialists like: the use of means tests; the poorer coverage for low-income groups (who are in greater need of medical care than the high-income groups); the use of copayment (which will discourage low-income persons from seeking medical care); and the voluntary approach. The Kennedy plan, with its social insurance approach, similar coverage for all regardless of income, absence of copayments, and potentially more progressive financing is much more to their liking.

There is another major difference between the Kennedy bill and the Nixon and Medigap proposals. The Medigap proposal is based on the classical capitalist belief in the virtues and infallibility of the market. Thus, it proposes no changes in the medical care system, no restrictions on fees, premiums, or facility construction. (There is an inconsistency here in that Medigap ignores the existing restrictions on the market in medical care; at least it would add no more restrictions.) The Nixon proposals would encourage some diversion from adherence to the market. For example, under the Administration proposals, new facility construction would, in effect, be dependent on approval by local and state organizations largely composed of provider representatives. The Nixon proposals' HMOs also

promise some change in the medical care system, although the nature of the HMO, and therefore of the change, is unclear. The Kennedy proposals call for national planning by government for the allocation of resources to health, with the use of a variety of incentives, sanctions, and regulatory devices to restructure the medical care system. Such controls as the Nixon and Medigap plans propose to limit utilization and costs are controls on the consumer through copayment, even though these may perpetuate financial barriers to care and discourage early and preventive care. The Kennedy plan, in contrast, places its controls on the providers, reasoning that they make the basic decisions about the kind and extent of services to be utilized.

The classical capitalists, in short, believe in the market, and Medigap's explicit prohibition of efforts to change the existing situation reflects this. The managerialists believe that the market should be modified by private decision-making, with government support if necessary, and the Nixon plan reflects this. The liberals have less concern about the market than do either the classical capitalists or the managerialists and, in any case, see medical care as different enough from other services to warrant special treatment. The Kennedy plan reflects this.

There are important differences between the liberals and the managerialists, but there are many ways in which these differences are diminishing. The general consensus toward which they are moving is what is sometimes called "corporatism," a system in which the government, the large corporations, and quasi-public organizations (unions, universities, foundations) work together harmoniously. Objectives are planned in consultation with each other, and government powers are used to achieve them. Within government, the decisions are made by the executive branch, with Congress relegated to a vestigial role. Social conflict is bureaucratized; for example, if blacks are disadvantaged and are thinking of street demonstrations, it is made easier for them to take their grievances to court.

The managerialists tend to put more emphasis on the role of the private sector. They see a rational elite, based in the pri-

vate sector, running the society with the government as its partner. The liberals put more emphasis on government planning to meet the needs of the public, especially low-income and working-class people. But both managerial and liberal points of view are elitist: they are based on the idea of a benevolent leader doing what is in everybody's best interest. Active public participation in decision-making is seen as undesirable because the public is not competent to make important decisions, either because of lack of information or because of lack of intelligence and/or interest.

4. *Populist*. The populist ideology,<sup>7</sup> diametrically opposed to this elitist point of view, is subscribed to by some intellectuals, health professionals, and community activists. They want popular control over all social institutions, including the medical care system. Their preferred instrument for popular control of the medical care system is the local primary service unit controlled by the community. For the populists, government planning is no more desirable than the private planning of the managerialists. They see both as elitist programs in which a small group runs things in the public interest as that group defines it. The populists are concerned with getting away from large bureaucratic structures run by elites, and want the mass of people to participate actively in making important social and political decisions.

Like the classical capitalists, the populists are concerned with the freedom of the individual. However, their emphasis is on the use of this freedom to make political decisions rather than economic ones. They do not talk about the market. Like the liberals, they see success or failure not as the result of the virtues of the individual, but as the result of the unequal opportunities which different people have because of the accident of birth.

Like the classical capitalists, they are very much concerned with the concentration of power in society. However, unlike the classical capitalists, they see this concentration all around

<sup>7</sup> For one statement of this point of view see *ibid.*

them in both public and private institutions of the society. They are not concerned so much with limiting the powers of government, as with the way in which the decisions to use these powers are made.

They have a secondary concern with efficiency, but their definition of efficiency is different from that of the classicists. They say that if something is done *for* people rather than *by* people, the resulting program will be inefficient in the sense that it will not really meet the needs it is designed to meet. Only the people who are affected by a program can effectively determine just what the program should do. If a program is prepared and carried out by the elite for the masses, it is likely not to meet the real needs, nor is it likely to be treated kindly by the supposed beneficiaries, nor will it really be to their benefit. One illustration of this is the removal of slums, which is an elite-run program supposedly for the benefit of the people who live in the slums. The result has been the destruction of the community social structure to the detriment of the residents. The new housing or other facility that replaces the slums is too high-priced to be of use to them; and the result is that they move to other slums, overcrowding them even further, and suffering as well from the destruction of the community social structure within which they used to live. Where public housing replaces the slum, the people who live in it are antagonistic to the paternalistic way in which the project is run and take their hostility out in destructive behavior.

The populists are concerned, too, about status differences within the medical care work force and want a more egalitarian, collegial work relationship. They are also concerned about sexism and racism in medical care. Their diagnosis of the problems of the American medical care system is that it is too concerned with profits, research, and teaching, and too little with patient care, except as such care is necessary to serve the functions of profit-making, research and teaching.<sup>8</sup>

Most populist spokesmen have not addressed themselves to

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 1.



national planning and financing issues because of their focus on the local primary service unit. However, in *The American Health Empire*, the most extensive published statement of a populist view of the medical care system, the Ehrenreichs discuss national health insurance, arguing that all national health insurance proposals are "a great leap sideways . . . not clearly a step towards or a step away from a national health system."<sup>9</sup> It is a national health *system* which is necessary—a system which will have patient care as its first priority; which will guarantee equal access to medical care; and which will be responsive to, and accountable to, the community—rather than national health *insurance*, which "may help a few people pay for medical services which they would otherwise not get"<sup>10</sup> but "will not create and make accessible medical services for the greater majority of poor and middle-class people."<sup>11</sup>

National health insurance will fail because it fails to face the fundamental questions about our health system—control, accountability, accessibility, priorities, responsibility to the community. And it fails this test precisely because it is national health *insurance*. Under an insurance mechanism, no matter how liberal, the private delivery system performs a certain service and the public funding (insurance) system pays for it. The public insurers may try to persuade the controllers of the private delivery system to change the system, but no attempt is made to take the power to control away from them. The key issues about the health system are thus removed from the discussion right from the start.

To this dead end, we can only propose the fundamental alternatives; the only way to fundamentally change the health system so that it provides adequate, dignified care for all is to take power over health care away from the people who now control it. Not merely the funding of the health system, but the system itself must be public.<sup>12</sup>

#### COALITIONS

The existence of these varying interests and ideological points of view means that three types of coalition are possible. The first would be a center-right coalition between the classicists

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189–90.

and the managerialists; the second would be a center coalition of the managerialists and the liberals; finally, there could be a center-left coalition between the liberals and the populists. A center-right coalition could be formed behind some combination of the Nixon and Medicredit proposals, such as a Nixon-type plan with explicit limits on government regulation of fees, conditions of practice, and so forth. A center coalition could be formed behind a combination of the Nixon and Kennedy proposals, such as compulsory health insurance administered by private insurers with some controls on providers. A center-left coalition could be formed behind a proposal which would unite the Kennedy proposals with a greater element of consumer control.

Although no legislative action is likely in the near future, a change in the nature and extent of government involvement in the organization and financing of medical care in the United States is clearly in the wind. The kind of change that is likely to emerge is as yet unclear and will depend on political events as yet uncertain. The identity of our next President and the kind of coalition he is successful in forming—or responds to—will determine the kind of change that will emerge.



TABLE 1: MEDICREDIT

<i>General concept and approach</i>	Credits against personal income taxes would be granted to offset the premium cost of qualified private health insurance providing specified benefits. Endorsed by American Medical Association.
<i>Coverage of the population</i>	All U.S. residents, on voluntary basis.
<i>Benefit structure</i>	Tax credits of 10 to 100 percent of cost of qualified health insurance policy, depending on annual tax payments. Voucher certificates issued to persons with little or no tax liability. Policy provides basic and catastrophic benefits. Hospital: 60 days of care; \$50 deductible per stay. Nursing home: Substituted for hospital days on 2 for 1 basis; \$50 deductible per stay. Physicians: 20 percent coinsurance. Dentists: No benefits. Laboratory and X-ray: 20 percent coinsurance. Prescription drugs: 20 percent coinsurance. Catastrophic coverage: Additional hospital days and medical appliances covered after corridor deductible (out-of-pocket payment) which varies according to income. Total coinsurance (for physicians, laboratory and X-ray) limited to \$100 per family. Private insurance carriers issue policies. State insurance departments certify carriers and qualified policies. Federal board establishes standards for program. Treasury Department processes tax credits. DHEW issues voucher certificates. Medicare: Continues to operate. Medicaid and other assistance programs: Would not pay for services under program. Other programs: Most not affected. Financed from Federal general revenues.
<i>Administration</i>	No provision.
<i>Relationship to other Government programs</i>	No provision.
<i>Financing</i>	The Federal board is directed to develop programs for effective use of manpower and resources.
<i>Standards for providers of services</i>	
<i>Reimbursement of providers of services</i>	
<i>Delivery and resources</i>	

TABLE II: NIXON ADMINISTRATION PROPOSALS

*General concept and approach*

2-part national health insurance plan covering most of the population under age 65: (1) required employer plan under private insurance for employees and their families and (2) federally operated family health insurance plan (FHIP) for low-income families with children. Provisions to encourage use of health maintenance organizations.

*Coverage of the population*

Employer plan.—Employers required to provide coverage for his employees and their families. Special group plans for small employers, self-employed and other individuals.

FHIP.—Low-income families with children who meet specified income levels could voluntarily enroll. Mandatory coverage for families under (proposed) Family Assistance Plan.

*Benefit structure*

Employer plan: Broad benefits, with cost sharing of \$100 annual deductible per person and 25 percent coinsurance for most services.

Hospital: 2-day deductible and 25 percent coinsurance for room and board per year. Other services subject to annual deductible and coinsurance.

Physicians: Annual deductible and coinsurance. Well-baby care up to age 5 without cost sharing.

Laboratory and X-ray: Annual deductible and coinsurance.

Medical appliances: Annual deductible and coinsurance.

FHIP: Broad benefits. Some cost sharing depending on annual income, but none for lowest income group. Benefits include 30 days of hospital care; nursing home care (3-day substitution for 1 day of hospital care); all physicians' services while receiving hospital, nursing home, or home health services; 8 home or office physician visits; well-baby care up to age 5; home health services (7-day substitution for 1 day of hospital care).

## *Administration*

### *Relationship to other Government programs*

## *Financing*

Employer plan.—Private insurance carriers under Federal supervision. FHIP.—Administered by DHEW, similar to Medicare program.

Medicare: Continues to operate.

Medicaid: Limited to aged, blind, and disabled.

Other programs: Most not affected.

Employer plan.—Financed by employee-employer premium payments. Employer pays 75 percent (65 percent for 1st 2½ years of program).

FHIP.—Financed in part by premiums paid by enrollees, graduated according to income; no premium for lowest income group. Balance of costs paid from Federal general revenues.

### *Standards for providers of services*

Same as Medicare. Also Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSRO) would review services provided under all plans, if PSRO is made applicable to Medicare and Medicaid.

### *Reimbursement of providers of services*

Hospitals and other institutions: Reasonable cost of services (same as Medicare).

Physicians: Reasonable charges (same as Medicare).

Health maintenance organizations: Per capita rate.

Health maintenance organizations: Would be available as an option under all plans.

Must provide comprehensive services efficiently and economically. Under related bill (S. 1182), grants and loans for development, construction and payment to meet initial operating costs.

Health education: Under S. 1183, grants and loans to schools for education of health professionals in short supply and improvement of health delivery.

### *Delivery and resources*

TABLE III: KENNEDY (HEALTH SECURITY) PLAN

*General concept and approach*

National health insurance program providing broad benefits, administered by Federal Government and financed by payroll taxes and Federal general revenues. Endorsed by Committee for National Health Insurance and AFL-CIO.

*Coverage of the population  
Benefit structure*

All U.S. residents.

Broad benefits with no cost sharing or limitations, except as noted.  
Hospital.

Nursing home: 120 days of care.

Physicians.

Dentists: For children under age 15; later extended to age 25.

Other health professionals.

Laboratory and X-ray.

Medical appliances and eyeglasses.

Prescription drugs: For chronic and other specified illness.

Federal Government: Special board in DHEW, with regional and local offices to operate program.

*Administration*

*Relationship to other Government programs*

Medicare: Abolished.

Medicaid and other assistance programs: Would not pay for covered services.

Other programs: Most not affected.

*Financing*

Tax on payroll, self-employed, and unearned income, and Federal general revenues.

Tax rates: (a) 1.0 percent on employee wages and unearned income, (b) 3.5 percent for employers, (c) 2.5 percent for self-employed, and (d) Federal general revenues equal to total receipts from taxes.

Earnings subject to tax: 1st \$15,000 of earnings and income of individuals; total payroll for employers.

Employment subject to tax: Workers under social security, plus Federal, State, and local government employment. State and local governments do not pay employer tax.

### *Standards for providers of services*

Same as Medicare, with additional requirements: Hospitals cannot refuse staff privileges to physicians. Nursing homes must be affiliated with hospital which is responsible for medical services in home. Physicians must meet national standards; major surgery performed only by qualified specialists. All providers: Records subject to review by regional office. Also, can be directed to add or reduce services, and to establish linkages with other providers.

### *Reimbursement of providers of services*

National health budget established and funds allocated, by type of service, to regions and local areas.

Hospitals and nursing homes: Would receive annual predetermined budget based on reasonable cost.

Physicians, dentists, and professionals: Methods available are fee-for-service based on fee schedule, per capita payment for persons enrolled, and (by agreement) full- or part-time salary. Payments for fee-for-service may be reduced if payments exceed estimates.

Comprehensive health service organizations and medical society foundations: Per capita payment for all services (or budget for institutional services). Can retain all or part of savings.

Health planning: DHEW responsible for health planning, in cooperation with State planning agencies. Priority to be given to development of comprehensive care on ambulatory basis.

Health resources development fund: Will receive, ultimately, 5 percent of total income of programs, to be used for improving delivery of health care and increasing health resources.

Comprehensive health service system: Could receive grants for development, loans for construction, and payments to offset operating deficit.

Manpower training: Grants to schools and allowances to students for training of physicians for general practice and shortage specialties, other health occupations, and development of new kinds of health personnel.

### *Delivery and resources*

# *National Planning for Public Social Services*

DOROTHY BIRD DALY

THE VALUE OF PLANNING for public social services is today more clearly recognized than at any time in the past. We have a long way to go, and unfortunately neither our destination nor the means of reaching it is clear. But even without a firm sense of direction or a road map to follow, we are being impelled into movement by the surge of long-range and powerful forces. The cumulative and unanticipated consequences of unplanned social change are creating such great individual and societal problems, causing such pain and discomfort, creating such wide disparities between our values and our behavior, that frantic and uncoordinated and, indeed, sometimes contradictory responses are emerging. The fundamental question is whether or not in the social sector we are, as a society, capable of engaging in a deliberate, rational process to achieve agreed-upon social goals.

Implicit in the acceptance of planning as a necessary or even a desirable activity is recognition that a need or condition exists and will continue to exist concerning which some action should be taken, that its magnitude can be predicted, its specific qualities and characteristics defined, and that the technology and resources are available or can be developed to achieve a satisfactory response to the need or condition.<sup>1</sup> The level of activity in the topic is national; hence the assumption that it is as a nation

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred J. Kahn, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), pp. 61-63.

or for the nation as a whole that a response is indicated and necessary. The auspices for the activity are public. The assumption, then, is that whatever functions and programs evolve from the planning will be a public responsibility, administered and funded by government.

So we come to the heart of the matter. The focus of our concern is social services. Herein the extent and the limits of our progress can really be measured. We are, it is true, at last facing the necessity for national planning and for the assumption of public responsibility for the social services. This is progress, because the fact is that there has been no planning for public social services. The approach has been disorganized and spasmodic. Such programs as we have developed have come either as a response to the pressure of small groups humanistically motivated or, more frequently, as a grudging response to the fear that if the needs of certain groups go unmet and critical social problems remain completely neglected, the consequences to the welfare of the general population, as well as of those immediately involved, will be too great to be borne. As a result, "the services have been categorically structured, unevenly distributed, and poorly financed."<sup>2</sup> Social services in the United States are offered under a bewildering variety of auspices and provided by a staggering number of agencies, voluntary and public. Generally uncoordinated, frequently inaccessible, and often barely visible, this array of services, programs, and activities can really be most accurately labeled a "nonsystem." While flashes of creativity and innovation are possible, the total arrangement is encrusted with bureaucratic procedures, tradition, and vested interest.<sup>3</sup> Social services tend to be either supplementary, supportive, and adjunctive, or undifferentiated and residual. The result is vague and confusing definitions of services with

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy B. Daly, Martin B. Loeb, and Frederick A. Whitehouse, "The Social Services and Related Manpower," a paper commissioned by the Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Sydney E. Bernard, Armand Lauffer, and Roger Lind, *Separation of Income Maintenance and Social Services in Public Welfare* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1970).



tendencies toward dispersion and fragmentation and often with the stigma of "poor relief" attached.<sup>4</sup>

In the face of such chaos, national planning for public social services can only be viewed as progress.

. . . planning involves the selection of a goal or objective. It is a rational process in which there is a calculation of the relationship between ends and means. Planning also involves some projection over time. . . . planning in a deliberate, rational process that involves the choice of actions that are calculated to achieve specified objectives at some future time.<sup>5</sup>

We are otherwise not proceeding rationally but rather "muddling through." <sup>6</sup> While it is true that "muddling through" has been raised to the level of a science by those who hold that there is no single rational solution to a stated problem, nevertheless, given the present chaos in the field of social welfare, there can be no movement toward a coherent, rational system unless purposes and goals are involved in the process, even though the means-end relationship is recognized to be not a simple linear relationship but an interacting chain in which both means and ends are subject to continuous redefinition and correction in the light of experience. "Ends, in this light, are not merely the broad global social goals that may motivate a project. They are also the more limited, more operational goals that are defined and redefined progressively within an evolutionary process." <sup>7</sup>

Within this context, social welfare is the end. The public social services are the means—granting their interdependent relationship. As social services improve, the goal of the common social welfare can be pushed ahead. As our aspirations raise the level of the goal, more resources will be deployed to social serv-

<sup>4</sup> George Hoshino, "Separation of Aid and Services: Dimensions and Implications," American Public Welfare Association Northeast Regional Conference, Atlantic City, N.J., 1971.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Perlman and Arnold Gurin, *Community Organization and Social Planning* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., and the Council on Social Work Education, 1972), p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of 'Muddling Through,'" *Public Administration Review*, XIX (1959), 79-88.

<sup>7</sup> Perlman and Gurin, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

ices. We will not achieve either one without the other. Both clearly specified goals and means are necessary.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

Currently, the social services are fragmented, disorganized, and difficult to assess because of the lack of reporting systems. Social services are generally offered to individuals and groups in conjunction with public and voluntary health, education, and other programs. It is very difficult, really impossible, in the United States to seek and receive social services in their own right, except to a limited extent in the fields of child welfare, family service, and services to the aging. Otherwise, in order to receive a social service, one must first be receiving treatment in a program related to physical or mental illness, the treatment and care of the physically or mentally handicapped, or in an institution for the chronically ill. It is possible in some places to secure social services in connection with problems in elementary and, to a lesser extent, in secondary education, but one must first be having an educational problem before it is possible to receive social services under this system. Social services are provided to the behaviorally deviant, but generally it is first necessary to have been arrested and adjudged delinquent at either the juvenile or adult level. A relatively few housing programs offer social services, but again it is likely that one must have a problem in relation to one's use of the housing before one can qualify for social services.

Theoretically, at least, the largest purveyors of social services in the United States are the public welfare departments at the state and county levels. But here, except in some of the child welfare services and to a limited extent in services to the aging, it is necessary first to be receiving public assistance, and services must be directed toward, generally, the return to self-maintenance.<sup>9</sup> Even here, the availability of social services is more myth than reality. In the whole public welfare program, as of

<sup>8</sup> Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-59.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Personnel Report*, June 30, 1971 (Washington, D.C.).

June 30, 1971, only 5,340 social workers involved in both income maintenance and social services gave more than half their time to social services. These workers served an average total caseload of 12 million individuals in AFDC; 570,000 individuals in child welfare; and in the adult categories, 280,000 individuals. Approximately 15,850,300 individuals received at least half of the time of the 5,340 workers, of whom considerably less than 5 percent had a master's degree in any field, let alone social work. These figures break down roughly into at least half time of one worker for every 3,000 individuals involved in the program of service, of whom less than 5 percent were professionally prepared to perform the service.<sup>10</sup>

Good-quality social services are available to a very small, relatively affluent proportion of the population through the private practice of social work. A slightly larger group is served by the private voluntary agencies. These are largely centered in the Northeast, the Great Lakes region, and the far West, and only in the large metropolitan areas. There are few, if any, voluntary programs in the less sparsely populated parts of the country, and only scattered services are available in the South and Southwest through this source.<sup>11</sup>

#### PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

No one, of course, is satisfied with the present situation—not the persons in need of the services; not the responsible administrators in the federal establishment who are underwriting a large proportion of the cost; certainly not the social work profession. Several proposals for change have been made recently.

1. *The NASW proposal.* On November 10, 1971, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) announced its intention to introduce at this session of Congress a bill entitled "Social Service Amendments of 1971." The NASW presented

<sup>10</sup> Virginia L. Tannar, "The Future of Social Services—Implications for Staff Development," American Public Welfare Association Regional Meeting, St. Louis, 1972.

<sup>11</sup> U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Closing the Gap in Social Work Manpower* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), Chart 4, p. 26.

the bill as designed "to deal with the service delivery problems raised by H.R. 1" and described it as "a feasible and politically viable *first step* in achieving a coordinated and comprehensive program of services to respond to human problems in the states and localities."<sup>12</sup>

Under the provisions of the bill, the present structure of a single state agency and federal participation in financing and standard-setting would be maintained. The idea of federally defined services, mandated and optional, would be continued. States would be required to emphasize the needs of low-income people. While it is assumed that public social services should be made available to all who request them, the states would not be required to make them available to all who request them. A coordinated continuum of services would be encouraged by requiring the designation or establishment of a single state agency to administer or supervise the program; by granting federal funds to finance the planning of coordinated services, research, and evaluation; by giving the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) authority to modify requirements for any health, education, welfare, or manpower program under his direction, if such modifications are needed to achieve a coordinated approach.

The bill specifically defines all the services the program covers, both mandatory and optional, and permits states to include others at state expense. By design, it does not contain a statement of broad general goals or ends, only of limited operational goals and specific means. The purposes and objectives are described in the first section of the bill to enable states to plan and carry out programs providing a broad range of individual and family services for all persons who need and request such services, with priority given to low-income individuals and families, older persons, and disabled children and adults.

Both the strengths and the weaknesses of the NASW proposal derive from its pragmatic approach. In introducing the proposal, the President of NASW stated very clearly that it was de-

<sup>12</sup> Letter to members of Congress from Mitchell I. Ginsberg, President, NASW, November 10, 1971, requesting their endorsement of the bill.

signed as a feasible and politically viable approach. It appears to have been written with one eye on the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and the other on the Finance Committee of the Senate. Its classification of dependency as a social problem testifies to this. Presumably, it identifies beneficiaries of income payments under the assistance titles of the Social Security Act as "dependent" and thereby problematic, socially. This may, indeed, be politically viable, but it is certainly contrary to the major commitment of NASW to work toward a guaranteed adequate income as a matter of right and as a social good in our present economic system.

Its major strengths and its major weaknesses are that it proposes a comprehensive system of social services theoretically available to the entire community, but ties it permanently into what is essentially a tax law, the Social Security Act, and into a system that is primarily responsible for income maintenance. The basic purpose of the Social Security Act is economic, not social, and as a consequence it is legislatively within the control of the Ways and Means and Finance committees. This might be a legitimate fall-back position for the profession if all other efforts failed. It certainly should not be our first approach.

2. *The CSA proposal.* On February 1, 1972, the Community Services Administration (CSA) of the Social and Rehabilitation Service of HEW announced a proposal for a new social services system. This would be an administratively directed change and would seek no change in the legislative base. It would provide for the establishment in every state of a public social services agency in its own right with its own clearly defined goals and objectives and with specific targets toward which all efforts and activities would be directed.

The program mission is to remove individual and social barriers which prevent vulnerable individuals and families from attaining or maintaining their maximum level of personal and social functioning that is feasible for them including, as appropriate, capability for self-support, self-care, and personal independence.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Tannar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

"Vulnerable" individuals and families are defined as those eligible persons who, because of their undesirable social circumstances, physical or psychological problems, or other personal or family difficulties, fail to achieve the level of economic and self-sufficiency which they desire and are capable of attaining. The removal of individual and social barriers would become the work of the social service agency. This would provide a wide range of intrapersonal and social circumstances which would be the conditions because of which people would enter the system. For individuals, families, and children, there are four possible service objectives: institutional care; community-based care; family and self-care; and self-support.<sup>14</sup>

The goal is to secure appropriate institutional care when other forms of care are not appropriate. Some people must have institutional care because the hope of actual independent living is not in their best interest. Some, in fact, need to and should remain in the first goal classification, being helped to make use of institutional care with the exercise of the highest level of self-fulfillment possible within such limitations.

There are other people for whom institutional care is not really necessary but who, nonetheless, are unable to manage for themselves in their own homes. Such persons are most appropriately cared for in a community facility which resembles home as closely as possible. They should exercise as much responsibility for their own care as they are capable of doing. This type of arrangement under the CSA plan would be the objective of community-based care. It would include halfway houses, foster homes, nursing homes, some homes for the aged—in other words, a semidependent type of living arrangement. The second goal, therefore, would be to maintain community-based care which approximates a home environment when living at home is not feasible and when institutional care is not appropriate.

It is recognized in the CSA plan that there are millions of people in our society who are physically capable of caring for

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.



themselves but who cannot support themselves either because of personal or social circumstances or because for them there may be no job opening. These are the people who receive payments under the income-maintenance program. At critical points in the life cycle, or because of the personal or social problems, they may need certain social services. It is the intention of CSA to help these people "to achieve and maintain maximum personal independence, self-determination, and security in the home, including for children and youth the achievement of maximum potential for eventual independent living."

Finally, there is the fourth objective of self-support: to achieve and maintain a maximum level of independence and social self-sufficiency.

The CSA proposal would achieve, through administrative fiat, most of the objectives of the NASW proposal without the risk of the negative or restrictive action that can occur in the legislative process. It recognizes the federal government's responsibility for providing a range of social services directed toward the stated goals of the proposal, "with an operational mission to administer a goal-oriented national social services system through the provision of uniform policies and guidelines and by assisting state social service agencies in the development and provision of social services in communities."<sup>15</sup>

The CSA proposal, if adopted, adequately funded, and carried out with well-qualified manpower, would, I believe, provide time for the field and the profession to do the larger job called for in a major reform and to achieve a new approach to the social services in the United States.

3. *The Allied Services Act of 1972* (S.3643). On March 16, 1972, the Office of the Secretary of HEW proposed the Allied Services Act of 1972, which was introduced in the Congress as Senate bill 3643. It is described as:

A bill to encourage and assist states and localities to coordinate their various programs and resources available to provide human services,

<sup>15</sup> Statement of CSA-SRS Mission and Goal Statements, January, 1972, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., as contained in HEW's news release, February 1, 1972.



in order to facilitate the improved provision and utilization of those services and increase their effectiveness in achieving the objectives of personal independence, economic self-sufficiency, and the maximum enjoyment of life, with dignity, and for other purposes.

The purpose, to summarize from the bill, is to encourage and assist states and localities to enter into *new cooperative* arrangements and to reorganize for provision of human services toward a single agreed upon set of national objectives for the human services.

Human services are defined as:

services provided to individuals or their families to help achieve, maintain, or support the highest level of personal independence and economic self-sufficiency, including health, education, manpower, social, vocational rehabilitation, aging, food and nutrition, and housing services.

The proposed act would provide planning grants to states to survey their needs for services and resources and to develop a plan that provides for full participation of any agency carrying out a human services program whether directly or by grant or contract within the state.

What the proposed act aims to accomplish is to incorporate the CSA revised program into a larger system of human services. The problem created by the act is that it is addressed to a broad and poorly defined range of so-called "human services" in the fields of health, education, manpower development (work training and placement), social and vocational rehabilitation, the aging, food and nutrition, and housing services. And yet it does not encompass all health, all education, all skill development, all housing. It appears, from an analysis of the laws or parts of laws that are to be included in the legislative base of the program, that this proposal intends to cover the social service components of health, education, housing, and other services. Without greater clarity and specificity in distinguishing between broad human services and a more discrete definition of social services, this act could result in the development of expensive and administratively cumbersome superstructures without really effecting

change or improving communication and coordination in the several services.

#### A PROPOSED NATIONAL PLAN

The rationale and basic design for the social services proposed here was developed in conjunction with Martin Loeb, of the University of Wisconsin, and Frederick Whitehouse, of Hofstra University (New York), at the request of the Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service during 1970-71 and has been published in their report.<sup>16</sup> It has been modified and further developed by later work of my own and even more by the work of the students in the advanced program of study at the School of Social Service, Catholic University of America. Their thoughtful and well-researched papers presented in the seminar on social welfare policy and services added new dimensions to my thinking and led to basic changes in my conceptualization and approach.

The proposal has been affected, too, by the study of the proposals for social service reform discussed earlier and, most importantly, by a study, during the summer of 1971, of the Allied Personal Social Services system now under development in England and Wales and a similar program in Scotland.<sup>17</sup>

Basic to any planning for a social service system is the necessity to identify for it discrete goals and objectives, specific means for their achievement and for the measurement of their effectiveness. Somewhat paradoxically, there is necessity at the same time to visualize the constellation of human services as interrelated, interdependent, and, inevitably, although not necessarily problematically, overlapping functions and systems. One of the weaknesses in all of the proposals previously discussed is that they do not sufficiently distinguish between the broad range of human services and those services that are rightfully interpreted or defined as social services. The proposal put forward here identifies a range of services as human services, including recreation, so-

<sup>16</sup> Daly, Loeb, and Whitehouse, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), Cmnd. 3703.

cial, and legal and entitlement services; income maintenance; employment and housing functions; programs of neighborhood, urban, or regional development; and pastoral counseling under religious auspices. Each of these human services has discrete functions to perform, as well as some interrelated and some overlapping functions. Each requires a type of manpower for service delivery which shares, to a certain extent, a common base of knowledge and skill with the other human service disciplines and professions, but each requires discrete knowledge and skill bases as well.

In the field of health, for example, in the case of an acute, time-limited illness of an otherwise well-endowed individual, alone or in a family, the only services involved are health services: medical and perhaps nursing care and hospitalization. However, in the case of a chronic disabling illness of long duration which affects the capacity to fulfill the normal social role, which affects employment and earning capacity and family relationships, then not only health services but education, employment, income maintenance, and social services may be needed.

In the basic education of children and youth who can make effective use of the regular elementary, secondary, and higher education systems, the role of the educator is sufficient and discrete, but as soon as consideration moves to the education of the handicapped, the behaviorally deviant, the very young, or the adult returning for remedial education or retraining, then, depending upon the variants, health, education, special housing (institutionalization), social control, and social services are necessarily involved with education and with one another.

In the social services, an aging person left alone by the death of a spouse and having to face major adjustments in life style and social role may need and seek and utilize the services of a social worker in clarifying his feelings, in reinforcing his coping capacity, and in either finding substitute activities in day center programs or in making alternative plans without involvement or overlap with any other human services system. But if the death of the spouse reduced the income substantially or left a handicapped survivor without necessary care, then a variety of services

would be involved in addition to, and interrelated with, the social services.

In this conceptualization of the human services, the primary service being planned for occupies, as it were, the central focus within a ring of overlapping circles, each only partially discrete, connected with, and partially overlapping one another. The same circles are involved in each instance, only their relative positions and overlap shift. This is a new and as yet untried approach to organization of the social services, at least in the United States. It is at least partially the basic conceptualization in the Allied Personal Social Services under development in Great Britain.<sup>18</sup>

In this formulation, the social services are seen as services directed toward the restoration, maintenance, or enhancement of capacity for effective social functioning of individuals, families, or groups, or as services to organized community groups to help them to develop structures that facilitate (or remove barriers to) individual and group social functioning. Social functioning is here defined as the satisfactory fulfillment of personal and societal roles. Max Lerner approaches the same idea in terms of man's right to life: "If to live is to function, then to function well is the basis of a good life."<sup>19</sup> The social services include provision of environmental supports and professional intervention to effect behavioral or social institutional change.

It is perhaps necessary to emphasize here that, although income maintenance is classified within the human services constellation, in this formulation, social services do not include income maintenance devices. Transfer payments are regarded as negative taxes or balancing benefits, not as expenditures for public goods or services.<sup>20</sup> Within this conceptualization, before the government income and expenditure budget is developed, step one would be to balance taxes paid to, and benefits paid by,

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Part VI, pp. 181-204.

<sup>19</sup> Max Lerner, *The Unfinished Country* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959).

<sup>20</sup> Henry Aaron and Martin McGuire, *Public Goals and Income Distribution* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1971).

government by and to individuals and corporations to arrive at real income and planned governmental expenditures for goods and services.

A second program in the human services constellation which perhaps should be separated from social services is that of a work placement and employment training program. This is visualized as quite distinct from, and administered separately from, both the income maintenance and the social services program as a human service in its own right.

While self-actualization goals of the individual and society become increasingly valued, a vast number of people are not able to realize the basic primitive benefit of wage employment participation in society's productive activities. The unemployed, the underemployed, the secondarily employed, and the new-to-the-market job searchers want "a piece of the action." They aspire to the learning, earning, purchasing chances in life.<sup>21</sup>

Hence, a necessary human service that needs to be provided by government because it is good for the individual and for the society is a work training, placement, and employment program. Where adults lack marketable skills and skilled personnel are needed in the economy, the government should provide training and retraining programs. Job placement and development through the United States Employment Service is already established. Where unemployed personnel are available for employment and the private or regular public sector cannot absorb them, then public service jobs should take up the slack.

The social services, then, can be planned for, administered, and delivered not as auxiliary to other human services or as facilitating the use of other human services, but as responsive to individual, group, or community need and interest "in coping with behavior and conditions as are clearly and widely understood by the members of the community to be harmful to society

<sup>21</sup> Charlotte M. Berg, "Manpower and Social Planning: Social Implications in the Job Search and Employability Problems," unpublished term paper, seminar in social welfare policy and services, 1972, National Catholic School of Social Service, Catholic University of America.

and to the people involved. They are designed as well to enhance living and general well-being.”<sup>22</sup>

The problems which are foci of social services in this conceptualization are of three sorts: (1) problems connected with the life-cycle crises in the young child, the adolescent, the family, the aged; (2) problems concerned with socially handicapping conditions that interfere with or prevent personal satisfaction and satisfying behavior and role fulfillment; (3) problems that result in social deprivation, delinquency, and citizen or political impotency.<sup>23</sup>

Under this system, there would be governmentally planned and administered local social service centers that are “accessible, available, and acceptable” to people in the community.<sup>24</sup> Here, most or all social services would be provided or arranged for. There would be separation of social services from the school system, from the courts, from income maintenance and employment programs, from nursing homes and homes for the aged. Social workers with specialized competence might be detailed to work primarily with these other agencies when interrelated service was called for and use of an interdisciplinary team would be the preferred mode of practice, but the administrative direction and control would be in the social service agency and the practitioner would maintain his professional identity and independence.

This system would require a whole new legislative approach with legal authorization in legislation separate from the Social Security Act, the Public Health Service Act, and the other legal authorizations previously mentioned.

Such a unified department will provide better services for those in need because it will ensure a more coordinated and comprehensive approach to the problems of individuals and families and the communities in which they live. It should be more effective in detecting need and encouraging people to seek help; it should attract more resources and use them more efficiently, and it will be possible to plan more systematically for the future.

<sup>22</sup> Daly, Loeb, and Whitehouse, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Report of the Committee on Local Authority* . . . , p. 37.



An integrated social service department will impose fewer boundaries and require less arbitrary classification of problems.<sup>25</sup>

At the local level, it will provide means for assured communication between the consumer of the service and those responsible for policy and for provision of the necessary resources.<sup>26</sup>

#### STRATEGY AND ISSUES

The proposals for change developed during the past year by the profession, the Administration, and the Congress all contain provisions for planning as an element in program development, to rectify "the absence of any commonly accepted set of goals or objectives toward the attainment of which . . . programs should be directed."<sup>27</sup> The analysis of the several proposals supports the assumptions that as a nation we are moving toward a more "deliberate, rational process in social planning . . . toward the selection of goals and objectives" and toward "calculation of the relationship between ends and means, with projections over time."<sup>28</sup>

The fault in both the legislative and the professional proposals analyzed here is that either they fail to distinguish social need from other human needs and social services from other human services (the Allied Services bill) or they continue to put social services forward as ancillary to other human services (the NASW bill).

The interdependent, comprehensive system proposed here, and implicit in the Daly, Loeb, and Whitehouse report, avoids the problem that social services tend to be either supplementary, supportive, and adjunctive, or undifferentiated and residual. It is the only proposal thus far that establishes a social service delivery system in its own right with clearly defined goals for which social work as a technology can be responsible.

Admittedly, this proposal is neither "a feasible nor a politically viable one."<sup>29</sup> *It is only necessary.*

So my strategy would be to support the CSA proposal and live with a separated social service system under the Social Security

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>27</sup> S. 3643, Allied Services Act, 1972.

<sup>28</sup> Perlman and Gurin, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>29</sup> Ginsberg, *op. cit.*



Act while we plan for a genuine and effective reform, meanwhile cooperating with the federal and state public welfare systems in assuring that the services will be staffed by "sufficient numbers of qualified personnel"<sup>30</sup> and adequate in range and quality to be responsive to community social need. To achieve the comprehensive reform proposed here will require major investment in public information activities to develop a base of support in the community, legislative activity to secure Congressional support, and, even more importantly, clarification within the field and the profession of the area of responsibility encompassed by the social services and the area of competence of the profession of social work.

It took nineteen years of research and action to move Medicaid from an idea, when it was first proposed to Congress, to a reality with the passage of Title XIX of the Social Security Act. It may not take that long for the social services to be planned for nationally, because we should have support rather than opposition from the large majority in the profession and the field.

What is needed in the United States is a Presidential commission similar to the Seeborn Commission, which recently completed its work in the United Kingdom to review the organization and responsibilities of social services in all their complexity and fragmentation, and to consider what changes are desirable to secure an effective social services system. This was the process we followed in health and education. It is the process Great Britain followed. It worked in 1915 in the United States for the establishment of the Children's Bureau and more recently for older Americans in the creation of the Administration on Aging and for youth in the Delinquency Prevention Act. Our problem is that we have not seen the unity of the social services and their discrete as well as interrelated functions.

Major advances in public support of health programs followed from the White House Conference on Health, the White House Conference on Health Manpower, and the White House Confer-

<sup>30</sup> Federal Regulation for Separation of Social Services from Income Maintenance, February, 1972 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare).

ence on Allied Health Manpower. Major advances in public support of elementary and higher education followed from the White House Conference on Education. Until we focus national attention on social welfare as an entity and on social services as the appropriate response to needs and problems in social welfare, we will not have made even a beginning.

A second major issue to be faced in planning for a comprehensive social service system is to resolve how the cost of service shall be underwritten. Granted the necessity for a public tax-supported base, should the social service system follow the education model with complete government support of a system of public service agencies giving free services to all who seek them but no support to nonpublic even though nonprofit agencies?

Should it be financed in large part by fees charged individually but chiefly payable through a prepayment insurance system? Should there be fee for service for all who are able to pay directly and a voucher system in which an eligible person receives service at any accredited resource of his choice, public, nonprofit, or profit-making?<sup>31</sup> Careful analysis of the experience of the new services system under the CSA proposal will provide some answers to the question of the relative merits, costs, and benefits of public service delivery or purchase of service from profit and nonprofit agencies. But some of the decisions must be derived from our value base rather than from cost/benefit analysis.

A third issue is the need for making operational the concept of accountability. There is need for regulation to ensure standards of service, quality control, licensing of agencies and practitioners, and recognition of consumers' protection.<sup>32</sup> It has been possible until now to regulate through legislation the physical

<sup>31</sup> Bernard, Lauffer, and Lind, *op. cit.*; John M. Wedemeyer, "Government Agencies and the Purchase of Social Services," in *Purchase of Care and Services in the Health and Welfare Fields*, Proceedings of the First Institute on Social Welfare Issues of the Day (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin School of Social Welfare, 1970), pp. 3-5.

<sup>32</sup> Monrad Paulsen, "National Perspectives on Regulatory Law in Health and Welfare Fields," in *Delivery of Services in a Regulated Society*, Proceedings of Institute on Social Welfare Issues of the Day (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin School of Social Welfare, 1971), p. 7.

aspects of a program, but as for legislating *quality* of a desired service, such factors do not lend themselves to legislative language. We can regulate some aspects of social services but certain other factors are "at this time beyond the ken of licensing regulations."

We can, however, license agencies and practitioners. A very great issue is the necessity for licensing social work practice, not merely by registration or certification, but with sanctions for malpractice and for unlicensed practice. While licensing does not ensure good quality, it can protect the consumer from potential harm. Many other issues can be raised. Moving a national comprehensive social service system from an idea to a reality will require the slaying of countless dragon-myths and will be accomplished only through overcoming the entrenched positions of many in the field of social welfare and the profession of social work.

The idea that the course of destiny moves westward has been around for a long time. Unemployment compensation, social insurance, these social developments came to us via the Continent and that "very green little isle." So, I might add, did the Elizabethan Poor Law. If Britain has buried that relic, as Sir Frederick Seebohm so aptly put it, won't we, eventually?

The question is not "if" but "when" and "how well." These are questions to which we should address ourselves now. The need is here, certainly. The technology to meet the need has been developed in social work. The commitment must be developed and the resources allocated.

# *Social Action: Strategies in Search of Norms*

BERNARD J. COUGHLIN and  
S. K. KHINDUKA

BY "SOCIAL ACTION," which has also been called "social reform," "political reform," and "political action," we mean a strategy to obtain limited social change at the intermediate or macro levels of society which is generally used in nonconsensus situations and employs both "norm-adhering" and "norm-testing" modes of intervention. There are four elements in this definition:

1. Social action is a strategy to effect change within some limited or specified scope of the society. It is not a revolution; it does not seek to alter the entire social structure.
2. The target of change is some macro system, an organization, social institution, or public policy that affects large segments of the society.
3. Social action strategies are generally used in nonconsensus situations. Where consensus exists, social action is usually not called for.
4. The modes of intervention frequently involve conflict with some of the established norms.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Harry Specht, "The Deprofessionalization of Social Work," *Social Work*, XVII, No. 2 (1972), 3-15; Harold H. Weissman, "The Middle Road to Distributive Justice," *ibid.*, pp. 86-93.

## CONFLICTING ASSUMPTIONS

The assumptions underlying social work's commitment to social action have not always been unanimous. For a long time the preferred approach was one of engineering a consensus in favor of a desired policy through such norm-observing steps as research, development of a proposal or plan, interpretation of supporting data, promotion through educational campaigns, persuasion, and lobbying, and then ensuring the effective execution of the new policy.<sup>2</sup> This faith in consensus techniques was in accord with the prevailing assumptions of democratic liberalism. John Dewey, one of its most eloquent spokesmen, believed that reason and intelligence, dialogue and consensus are the routes to successful change, and that any theory based on the inevitability of conflict excludes *a priori* the possibility of using intelligence and reason to solve social problems. Just as through intelligence man has harnessed certain physical forces of nature, so through intelligence man can resolve the struggle between the social classes.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, such an almost exclusive reliance on cooperation, consensus, and rational persuasion is seen by some as altogether too limited and utopian a view of the social reality. Reinhold Niebuhr sharply challenged Dewey and his assumption that social conservatism could be explained in terms of man's ignorance of the cause and solution of social problems. A critically important difference between the physical and social sciences is that the former does not, but the latter has to, contend with the special privileges and economic interest of the dominant social classes. In Niebuhr's words:

Since reason is always, to some degree, the servant of interest in a social situation, social injustice cannot be resolved by moral and rational suasion alone, as the educator and the social scientist usually believes. *Conflict is inevitable, and in this conflict power must be challenged by power.* That fact is not recognized by most of the edu-

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin E. Youngdahl, *Social Action and Social Work* (New York: Association Press, 1966), pp. 105-9.

<sup>3</sup> John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), p. 83.

cators, and only very grudgingly admitted by most of the social scientists.<sup>4</sup>

Roland Warren points out two major limitations of collaborative strategies in achieving consensus. Those who utilize collaborative strategies of social change find that they can achieve consensus only by restricting the democratic process to parties holding similar values and interests, or by limiting the issues around which consensus is sought, and these are often the less crucial community issues.<sup>5</sup>

#### STRATEGIES

Strategies of social action involve both collaboration and conflict, both norm-conforming practices and norm-testing tactics.<sup>6</sup> Often they involve challenge, contest, even confrontation.

*Lobbying.* One method of influencing public policy, lobbying, is receiving renewed attention in the social work profession.<sup>7</sup> In this practice of consensus politics the lobbyist is committed to observing all the formal and informal norms of his trade. By a skillful presentation of his point of view, by personal contacts and expertise, by publicizing research results, by testifying before committees, by mobilizing grass roots and constituency support, by deft public relations techniques, and by a host of other devices, the lobbyist tries to win a hearing and influence policy.<sup>8</sup>

An important aspect of lobbying is the effort to forge an alliance that is capable of achieving desired political results. This calls for coalition and compromise, so as to achieve acquiescence

<sup>4</sup> Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), pp. xiv-xv (emphasis added).

<sup>5</sup> Roland L. Warren, *Truth, Love and Social Change* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1971), p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> The terms "strategy" and "tactics" are often used interchangeably. Although "strategy" generally refers to a broader plan of action, and the specific and discrete components of a strategy are called "tactics," the literature does not always clearly define them; no attempt is made here to use these terms in any conceptually differentiated fashion.

<sup>7</sup> Maryann Mahaffey, "Lobbying and Social Work," *Social Work*, XVII, No. 1 (1972), 3-11.

<sup>8</sup> Lester W. Milbrath, *The Washington Lobbyists* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963), pp. 209-54.

among competing political units.<sup>9</sup> A foremost example of "citizen lobbying" through alliances is the new organization Common Cause, which has already played a significant role in the battles against the Congressional seniority system and restrictions on voter registration, and in support of voting rights for young people at the age of eighteen, environmental legislation, control of campaign spending, and matters related to the lobbying law.<sup>10</sup> Lobbying is based on the belief that there is a pluralistic distribution of power in the society, that public authority is responsive to various interest groups, that trade-offs between these groups are necessary and inevitable, and that instead of confrontation strategies that sharpen conflict, consensus strategies that build support are more feasible and productive.

*Electoral politics.* Lobbying aims to influence those who already hold power. Electoral politics, sometimes called "citizen politics," aims to dislodge the power holders and elect others in their place. As Walzer notes, pressure politics seeks to change the policies that men make; electoral politics, equally legal and democratic, seeks to replace the men who make policies.<sup>11</sup> It is citizen politics, not professional politics, and it is eschewed by the established professions. Many social workers, however, especially the young, are being attracted to citizen politics. It is not unlikely that, if we fail to achieve the changes we want through interest group politics, many will press the profession to participate in electoral politics—a course that, because of the dependence of social agencies on public funding, would entangle us in the restrictions of the Hatch Act.

*The demonstration project.* Another change strategy is the demonstration project, essentially a skillful use of the combined appeals of science and grant money to institute change. It is usually a short-term action project with predefined objectives that tests the effectiveness of a new program, technique, or mode

■ Suzanne Farkas, *Urban Lobbying: Mayors in the Federal Arena* (New York: New York University Press, 1971).

<sup>10</sup> *The Washington Lobby* (Washington, D.C.; *Congressional Quarterly*, 1971), p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Walzer, *Political Action: a Practical Guide to Movement Politics* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 26.



of intervention in a selected area or on a selected population. The project is systematically evaluated so that its lessons, as Rein and Miller say, "will somehow lead to large-scale adoption and major shifts in the aims, styles, resources, and effectiveness of major social service organizations."<sup>12</sup> Although many negatives of the demonstration project have been pointed out—the improbability of rigorous evaluative research in action programs; the misuse of money; the tendency to use the project more to postpone than to promote change—it is nevertheless, a low-key method that does not severely threaten the existing institutions, nor does it require immediate action. Moreover, to the extent that it depends on outside funding, it is a cooperative venture of a service agency and a resourceful and perhaps influential public or private organization.

*Bargaining.* The strategy of achieving social action through bargaining is borrowed from industrial relations. In bargaining, two parties seek to arrive at an accommodation on a disputed issue.<sup>13</sup> The incorporation of collective bargaining as a legitimate part of labor-management relations illustrates the way in which certain practices that are initially considered blatant breaches of prevailing norms are, through persistence and habit, confrontation, and legal battles, eventually legitimated. Similarly, social workers and other professional and nonprofessional groups are promoting collective bargaining between the established decision-making institutions and other community groups who are on the periphery of decision-making.

*Consumerism.* Organizing consumers for redressing their grievances, sometimes called simply "consumerism" is a recent development in American life. No single individual is more responsible for its visibility than Ralph Nader. Ever since his successful brush with General Motors, he has been advocating reform in matters as diverse as pollution control, secrecy in government, and the practices of industrial firms and food and

<sup>12</sup> Martin Rein and S. M. Miller, "Social Action on the Installment Plan," *Trans-action*, III, No. 2 (1966), 31.

<sup>13</sup> George A. Brager and Valerie Jorin, "Bargaining: a Method in Community Change," *Social Work*, XIV, No. 4 (1969), 73.

pharmaceutical companies. Significant here is that what started out as a one-man crusade has become a movement for a new consumerism; and that this new movement, while perfectly law-abiding, violates some canons of behavior accepted by lobbyists and bureaucrats.

Nader violates the accepted lobbying style of praise and flattery of lawmakers and officials; instead, he tends to be outspoken, uncompromising, often hard-hitting, apparently achieving his effectiveness from forceful reasoning based on well-researched and well-documented facts.<sup>14</sup> He violates bureaucratic norms: he preaches against exaggerated bureaucratic secrecy; and he counsels workers to report acts of their organization that are against the public interest in order to bring them to the attention of the public. The least that social work can do is to study the meaning, possibilities, and effectiveness of this strategy of social change.

*Demonstrations.* The demonstration is a form of political expression in which there is a public display of collective feeling. The 1960s saw a sharp rise in the frequency of demonstrations, and an increased participation by certain middle-class groups. Between September 16 and October 15, 1968, an average of seven demonstrations daily was reported in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.<sup>15</sup> At one time, demonstrations were staged mainly by students and minorities; in recent years professionals and middle-class people—teachers, social workers, clergymen, hospital employees, law-enforcement personnel, parents, and housewives—have participated in public demonstrations. They are becoming a conventional, almost integral, part of the democratic process. Nonviolent demonstrations, especially with legal permit, are not only within the law but are increasingly recognized as a useful political tool of the middle and lower

<sup>14</sup> Robert F. Buckhorn, *Nader: the People's Lawyer* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972); Paul Dickson, "What Makes Ralph Run?" *Progressive*, January, 1970, pp. 28-32.

<sup>15</sup> Amitai Etzioni, *Demonstration Democracy* (New York: Gordon and Breach, Science Publishers, 1970), p. 4.

classes, who lack the resources required for more costly strategies such as lobbying.<sup>16</sup>

*Direct action.* Various forms of direct-action strategies have come into vogue. According to Dunham, direct action implies a greater degree of physical and emotional involvement, a deeper commitment, and a more militant spirit than other forms of social action. Direct action uses conflict and controversy to dramatize issues; although often legal, many forms of direct action are against established community norms.<sup>17</sup> Direct action is usually resorted to when less militant social action fails. Bowers and Ochs view direct action in the context of agitation which refers to a situation,

when (1) people outside the normal decision-making establishment, (2) advocate significant social change, and (3) encounter a degree of resistance within the establishment such as to require more than the normal discursive means of persuasion.<sup>18</sup>

Agitators employ a progressive scale of strategies: petition of the establishment; promulgation; solidification; polarization; nonviolent resistance; escalation/confrontation; guerrilla and Gandhi-like measures; guerrilla tactics; and revolution.

These strategies are progressive in the sense that the later strategies are unlikely to occur before the preceding have been exhausted. Thus petition and promulgation are strictly verbal, but solidification and polarization reinforce the participants in their zeal and commitment and at the same time may enlist the sympathies of bystanders. Nonviolent resistance creates tension that could lead to negotiations and result in the resolution of grievances. Escalation/confrontation is expected to lead the establishment into disproportionate repression and violence, prompting the larger society to institute the desired reforms. The remaining strategies are more for revolutionaries than re-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>17</sup> Arthur Dunham, *The New Community Organization* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 263.

<sup>18</sup> John Waite Bowers and Donovan J. Ochs, *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971), p. 4.

formers.<sup>19</sup> Oppenheimer and Lakey list numerous nonviolent forms of direct action, including picketing and holding vigils, fraternization, "haunting," distribution of leaflets, renouncing honors, strikes, consumers' boycotts, rent strikes, school boycotts, refusal to pay taxes, sit-ins, and fasts.<sup>20</sup>

Some of these direct actions are open violations of law. Others, while perfectly legal, nevertheless test the prevailing norms. For example, the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), by attempting to organize the poor to attain a minimum income and participation in the decision-making process, is violating established norms of the larger society. Borrowing its theory from Cloward and Piven and its tactics from them and Alinsky, the NWRO uses an aggressive and vigorous protest style, and has made things troublesome for the welfare bureaucracy and chain stores in many cities.

Convinced that the welfare rolls increase not so much in response to the needs of the poor as in response to the noise they make,<sup>21</sup> the NWRO often engages in disruptive tactics. It can, however, with equal versatility choose a consensus strategy. Not wedded to a single tool of change, it chooses tactics of quiet negotiations or belligerent militancy based on calculated, pragmatic judgment, limiting itself to neither and borrowing from both.<sup>22</sup>

*Disruption.* This tactic has been championed by some knowledgeable observers of the welfare scene. A few years ago Piven and Cloward complained that mass demonstrations which rely on "moral confrontation" were of limited effectiveness, since the system so easily absorbs them.<sup>23</sup> They suggested that if tensions in the cities were worsened, the Administration might be forced to alter its policies and priorities. They thus proposed to disrupt

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-37.

<sup>20</sup> Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, *A Manual for Direct Action* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), pp. 73-83.

<sup>21</sup> Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: the Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), pp. 336-48.

<sup>22</sup> Gilbert Y. Steiner, *The State of Welfare* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1971), pp. 280-313.

<sup>23</sup> Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Disrupting City Services to Change National Priorities," *Viet-Report*, Summer, 1968.

city services by upsetting the slum housing system through rent strikes, and to disrupt the public welfare system by organizing cadres of recipients and filing mass claims for benefits. The massive organization of welfare recipients was expected to create fiscal crises and to foment spin-off crises which would force city governments to terms. As Piven and Cloward say, crisis is "a potential political force far greater than the number of citizens, organized or not, who participate in the disruptive action itself."<sup>24</sup>

*Alinsky approach.* The style of social action practiced by Saul Alinsky has evoked considerable debate.<sup>25</sup> The purpose of community organization, according to him, is a redistribution of community power. Using his strategy, people are brought together to articulate their problems and frustrations in order to "rub raw the sores of discontent." An "enemy of the people" is identified, such as a slum landlord or the Housing Authority, and the poor and deprived are exhorted to organize and acquire power. This tactic is often accompanied by recourse to direct confrontation, clever use of publicity and public relations, and even the vilification of antagonists in order to compel them to meet the demands of the organized poor. Although the Alinsky approach has been criticized for its assumed paternalism, its alleged "paranoid preoccupation" with power, its disdain for ideology, its disregard for the purity of means, its indiscriminate use of conflict, and even its lack of concern for any alternative politics and programs, it has nevertheless popularized a model of social action that still has numerous adherents. In some specific local disputes this model has also proved somewhat effective.

It is quite likely that most of these current strategies will be around for a while. Thus, the questions as to which ones are effective, legitimate, and compatible with professional ethics, and under what conditions, are of more than mere academic in-

<sup>24</sup> Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, "Rent Strike Disrupting the Slum System," *New Republic*, December 2, 1967, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> See for example, Lyle E. Schaller, *Community Organization: Conflict and Reconciliation* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abington Press, 1966), pp. 90-114; Frank Riessman, "The Myth of Saul Alinsky," *Dissent*, XIV (1967), 469-78; Robert Pruger and Harry Specht, "Assessing Theoretical Models of Community Organization Practice: Alinsky as a Case in Point," *Social Service Review*, XLIII, (1969), 123-35.

terest. Even an initial analysis of the strategies brings to light two significant points: they involve different uses of power in effecting change; and they can be located along a continuum to the degree that they conform to or violate social norms.

#### USES OF POWER

Power includes the ability and probability of achieving one's will in opposition to, or at least in relation to, others.<sup>26</sup> Frequently it means imposing one's will on others and frequently it involves some form of contest, struggle, or subtle if not open conflict. Social action, then, involves some form of contest over the resources that lead to power and over ways to maintain or alter the power arrangements in the system.

Now, although our society is not unaccustomed at home and abroad to using its muscle, there is a kind of cultural dislocation about the heavy uses of power by a society that endorses such principles as equality and respect for the freedom of others and their right to self-determination. On the one hand, there are certain uses of power, the form and substance of which our culture clearly allows, even cultivates. The power of the speaker and writer to persuade others to his point of view; the power of the intellectual and the scientist to explore, discover, document, and convince; the power of the salesman and the advertising industry to convince the public of its need for a product; the power of prestige and position of the businessman, industrialist, and public figure to influence the man on the street; and of the lobbyist to influence the man on the street's political representatives—all these are moderate, acceptable, legal uses of power. They are uses of power that are consistent with our values, and we use them daily in the pursuit of change.

On the other hand, there are uses of power that we clearly disallow. The use of money or position as a direct bribe; the use of a lie to discredit and destroy; physical violence; the destruction of property—all these are immoderate, coercive, unacceptable

<sup>26</sup> See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, tr. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 151.



means of gaining another's consent and so strongly control another against his will as to render him powerless. While they are not equally repugnant, they all clearly violate our values regarding human freedom and self-determination.

Between these two extreme types of uses of power lies a grey, somewhat uncertain area where the norms are rapidly changing, and therefore a consensus as to the legitimacy of certain types of power use is lacking. In relatively stable societies, and in rather stable periods in relatively dynamic societies, the uncertain area is not so broad and not so grey, since values are more clearly defined, norms more unambiguously categorized, and conformity more easily ensured. But in times of rapid social change, values shift; what was within the social norms a few years ago is today beyond them; and what was then unacceptable is today acceptable. In between are actions and styles and modes of thought that are adrift from their moorings, as it were, testing the limits of the acceptable and the unacceptable. Boycotts and rent strikes, sit-ins, and confrontations, just like communal living, premarital sex, and the use of marijuana, while clearly unacceptable to some segments of the society, are not considered norm-violating behavior by a sizable part of the society.

#### THE POWER OF NORM-SETTING

A social norm is a rule for conduct, a shared group standard to which the members are expected to conform. Norms are derived from the values of the society and are internalized by the members in the process of socialization. A norm, as Homans puts it, is "an idea in the minds of members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances."<sup>27</sup> Norms are, as it were, the protectors or guarantors of group values; and the society seeks to induce and enforce conformity through a system of positive and negative sanctions.

It is important to note that social norms and their sanctions

<sup>27</sup> George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), p. 123.



are man-made. Rarely if ever are they adopted through public plebiscite. In a world of unequals, therefore, societies are vertically stratified, power and privilege are differentially distributed, and thus not every individual, group, or class has an equal voice in determining, defining, and enforcing the social norms. One of the resources that the powerful enjoy—and perhaps none is more important, however subtle—is precisely the power to define and enforce social norms. So differences in the ability to make rules and apply them to others are thus essentially power differentials.<sup>28</sup>

It is no coincidence that those segments of a society—be they racial, religious, or occupational groups; a class, sex, caste, political party or whatever—which play the primary role in defining norms of behavior tend to define them in ways that are compatible with their perceived self-interest, and then give them an aura of legitimacy in order to guarantee their acceptability.<sup>29</sup> In his work on Weber, Bendix observes:

Like all others who enjoy advantages over their fellows, men in power want to see their position as “legitimate” and their advantages as “deserved,” and to interpret the subordination of the many as the “just fate” of those on whom it falls.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, effort, whether deliberate or unconscious, is made to create and sustain the notion that the existing institutions are the most equitable and appropriate ones for the total society.<sup>31</sup>

It is here that power and norms meet. The power to decide that some social action strategies are norm-violating is power indeed. For when we characterize some forms of social action as norm-adhering and others as norm-violating, we are not so much describing the behavior as labeling it. And labeling, as students of deviance have argued with cogency, is neither a neutral nor a consequence-free process.

<sup>28</sup> Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1963), p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>30</sup> Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: an Intellectual Portrait* (New York: Doubleday [Anchor Books], 1962), p. 294.

<sup>31</sup> See Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (New York: Doubleday [Anchor Books], 1963), p. 64.

A label serves to assign individuals, groups, and behaviors to identifiable categories, and determines the way people react to those who wear that label. Whether a form of social action is norm-adhering or norm-violating depends not so much on the act itself, but on how powerful groups in society react to it. In many situations the label constitutes a central element in a process of domination and exploitation. Howard Becker suggests that labeling is a political act with political consequences. Becker, according to Bustamante, stresses the fact that

the legal norms and the behavior classified as deviant must be viewed as part of a political process in which group A, *in conflict* with group B, defines the rules for group B. The degree of group A's success in imposing such rules and in enforcing them depends primarily upon the political and economic power of group A.<sup>32</sup>

The power to label behavior "good" or "bad" is power to say what is and what is not legitimate, and so to rule an opponent in or out of the game. To classify social action strategies as "good" or "bad" because they conform to, or deviate from, norms that are set usually by the privileged, puts the underprivileged at a double disadvantage: not only do they lack the social and economic resources of power, but they are made to compete in a game according to a set of rules written by the powerful. It is not a fair game when the winners always set the rules.

Violence readily serves as an example. Official violence is overlooked because we choose not to label it as violence. The violence of minority groups, the poor, or the underprivileged against established institutions is never overlooked and often exaggerated. As Skolnick observes:

In the eyes of those accustomed to immediate deference, back talk, profanity, insult, or disobedience may appear violent. In the South, for example, at least until recently, the lynching of an "uppity" black man was often considered less shocking than the violation of caste etiquette which provoked it.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Jorge A. Bustamante, "The 'Wetback' as Deviant: an Application of Labeling Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXXVII (1972), 712-13.

<sup>33</sup> Jerome H. Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), pp. 4-5.

If, however, one sees the social reality through the lenses of the poor and the underprivileged, an entirely different picture may emerge.

One must conclude that the definition of legitimate, norm-adhering social action is a somewhat fickle thing. Man-made as norms are, how they are defined at any given time and place will depend largely on the balance and distribution of power. There is no timelessness about what is norm-adhering and norm-violating action; the former is not immutably blessed or the latter irrevocably chastised by the gods. As Gusfield points out, the public definition of behavior as deviant is itself changeable, being subject to reversals of political fortunes, twists of public opinion, and the growth of social and moral movements. Thus, one generation's criminals may be the next generation's sick, and may even attain legitimacy for their behavior in some future year.<sup>34</sup>

One must also conclude that in the power struggles that are represented by social action and carried out through social action strategies, designating certain strategies as norm-abiding and others as norm-violating is less than satisfactory and less than just, unless both parties in the social action contest have an equal say in defining what is and what is not norm-violating. Through social action the underprivileged seek a new distribution of power and privilege which generally, if not invariably, entails a loss of power and privilege by the powerful. Consequently, one cannot expect that those in power will readily classify as norm-adhering social action that threatens to rearrange the established institutions. To stigmatize that social action on the basis of its assumed deviation from societal norms, when it is precisely a change in the norms and the institutions that is the target of the social action, is to load the dice against the underprivileged.

This is not to deny the functional significance of norms. If anything, persons in weak social positions, who are vulnerable to exploitation, need predictable norms and sanctions as much as those in stronger social positions. But norms evoke respect and

<sup>34</sup> Joseph R. Gusfield, "Moral Passage: the Symbolic Process in Public Designations of Deviance," *Social Problems*, XV (1967), 187.

conformity largely because they are believed to be functional for the group in question. When they are perceived to be unjust and in opposition to larger societal values, their legitimacy is questioned and adherence to the norms becomes doubtful.

Today, vast portions of the society are reevaluating their faith in our social and political institutions. In a recent Harris poll only 27 percent of a cross section of the adult American population expressed faith in the leadership of business corporations (the 1966 figure was 55 percent); only 37 percent expressed faith in banks and financial institutions (67 percent in 1966); 27 percent, in the military (62 percent in 1966); 19 percent, in the Congress (41 percent in 1966); 23 percent, in the executive branch (41 percent in 1966); and 32 percent, in the scientific community (56 percent in 1966).<sup>35</sup>

Under these circumstances, it would seem appropriate, even urgent, to redefine the norms, or at least to revise the process whereby social norms are set. It seems altogether dysfunctional, and conducive only to widening the credibility gap, to label as "norm-violating" strategies recently rediscovered and reintroduced by the underprivileged simply on the ground that they deviate from a set of middle- and upper-class norms governing social action strategies. Therefore, to pursue an action strategy that challenges and violates existing norms does not, in and of itself, constitute unethical or unprofessional conduct. Judgment must be based on some other principle before a form of social action is rejected as unethical and a dirty business carried on at the fringes of professional activity. We suggest that it is imperative to develop norms in keeping with the goals and values of the social work profession, unencumbered by the prevailing and, perhaps, prejudiced social norms, so as to arrive at more objective judgments in these matters than we have in the past.

Since many of the norm-violating tactics of social action also involve some degree of social conflict, a plea for caution in stigmatizing them as unethical is apt to be misunderstood as advocacy of conflict as the only effective strategy for purposeful social

<sup>35</sup> Bayard Hooper, "Can We Believe What the Young Tell Us?" *Social Education*, XXXVI (1972), 269-70.

change. This is not the intent. Conflict strategies, after all, are only one form of social action. They are in vogue and are enthusiastically endorsed by many professionals and nonprofessionals. But it would be narrow-minded of the social actionist to rule out other options for change. Contest and conflict strategies, effective under some circumstances, are dysfunctional under other circumstances.

#### SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES

The professionally pertinent question is: what is a successful strategy of social action? Even this question needs to be further specified to pinpoint a range of selected details that ultimately determine success. For example, what is the goal? What forces can be mobilized in support of the goal? What opponents need to be neutralized? How can they be neutralized? What are the risks? What are the alternatives? What are the possible after effects? These and other considerations are paramount in evaluating and choosing among all the options available to the social actionist.<sup>36</sup> The strategy will, of course, vary in accordance with the perceived configuration of power in the organization or community where social action is being undertaken.<sup>37</sup>

There has been little systematic and rigorous research to yield the data and the conclusions as to what specific strategies tend to be effective and under what circumstances. Nevertheless, some insights are available. One of these insights is that, just as reliance on exclusively consensus strategies is unproductive, "conflict strategies" too do not always advance the cause of the social actionist.

Many protest movements have failed to achieve their goals; strategies of violence have suffered from overkill; confrontation and obstruction have escalated to violence and boomeranged—such instances of dysfunctional social action have been docu-

<sup>36</sup> Daniel Thursz, "The Arsenal of Social Action Strategies: Options for Social Workers," *Social Work*, XVI, No. 1 (1971), 28–29.

<sup>37</sup> Dawn Day Wachtel, "Structures of Community and Strategies for Organization," *Social Work*, XIII, No. 1 (1968), 85–91.

mented.<sup>38</sup> Coser's elaboration of the distinction between realistic and nonrealistic conflict, made earlier by Simmel, is of central concern to the social actionist. Realistic conflict results from the frustrations that ensue over rivalry for some goal. There is no commitment to conflict in itself, the approach being a means only to achieve some realistic end. Provided the goal can be achieved, conflict, which is only one means to achieve an end, can be substituted by other means that appear to be equally or even more effective. Thus, Coser says, "in realistic conflict, there exist *functional alternatives as to means*."<sup>39</sup>

Nonrealistic conflict, on the other hand, is not occasioned by rivals pursuing the same goal but only by the need for the release of aggressive tension. It manifests itself in many ways and may be channeled toward any object. It is not goal-oriented. The aggression, and so the conflict, is an end in itself. Nonrealistic conflict, therefore, leaves no choice as to alternatives.<sup>40</sup> It closes off other options, puts a strategic strait jacket on the social action participant, limits his potential for inducing change, and under some circumstances guarantees failure of the social action enterprise. Violence, for example, is generally a more potent weapon for the powerful than for the powerless. The coercive capacities of public authority should not be underestimated, nor its proclivity for retaliatory reaction. Perhaps this is why men who are discontented, but not enraged, use constructive means to attain their goals, rarely resorting to violence. Consequently, most social actionists prefer peaceful means. They tend to steer a middle course between the extremes of violence and consensus strategies. As Gurr concludes:

Assuming that their primary motive is to increase their well-being rather than to satisfy anger through violence, their optimum strategy lies intermediate between those of elites who would maintain order

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, Peter Buckman, *The Limits of Protest* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1970), pp. 261-63; Etzioni, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-40; and Martin Oppenheimer, *The Urban Guerrilla* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 169-70.

<sup>39</sup> Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*



and of revolutionaries who would destroy that order to establish a new one.<sup>41</sup>

Social action is a nonrandom, collective action for political ends. Political behavior that is shaped by influences that have little to do with political issues is usually self-defeating.<sup>42</sup> Conflict for the sake of conflict; social action to gratify the need for attention or release of tension; expressive behavior in pursuit of psychic gains; and a sectarian or moral radicalism that assumes that moderates who refuse to make noise, shout slogans, or picket this office or that corporation—all these attitudes minimize the choice of strategy. Social action should be free, unwedded to a single strategy or style, however fashionable it may be.

"Social action" is a "bad word" only to those who hold the established institutions of the society in their control. In itself it urges a political system to stretch "the perimeters of the possible,"<sup>43</sup> and this is welcome. For major humane changes affecting vast masses of a population occur when politics becomes, not the art of the possible, but as Denis Goulet puts it, "the art of redefining the possible."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 355.

<sup>42</sup> Harry Brill, *Why Organizers Fail: the Story of a Rent Strike* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1971).

<sup>43</sup> George A. Brager, "Institutional Change: Perimeters of the Possible," *Social Work*, XII, No. 1 (1967), 59-69.

<sup>44</sup> Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: a New Concept in the Theory of Development* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 336.



# *Social Work and the Law*

DONALD BRIELAND

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS and social work practitioners share a strong interest in the impact of social change. Goode discusses change at several levels:

. . . the impulse to study social change is part of a slowly crystallizing, increasingly articulate feeling that both the physical and the social worlds are highly contingent, not really completed and fixed. . . . Since such contingencies lie in the future, it is necessary to study change over time.

A political impulse is also evident in this increased attention to change, and here especially its relevance for family change is clear. It is a protest against the acceptance of things as they are. Rejecting the idea that roles are fixed, it is an assertion that both physical and social relations *can* be changed. Rejecting the exhortation to accept the world as it already exists, this view expresses a preference for change, a demand that the world be altered because it is not adequate.

A pragmatic assumption can also be discerned in this new concern with change theory. Since social relations are contingent, they can be altered; and if they are to be altered in the direction we prefer, they must be controlled now. If family patterns need not be accepted in their present form, we must experiment now, and shape the future now. To do so requires a charting of time trends and some knowledge of their laws. Without that knowledge, we shall fail to create the future as we want it to be.<sup>1</sup>

Both the nature of social changes and their speed influence social work practice and social work education. Nowhere is this

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<sup>1</sup> William J. Goode, "The Theory and Measurement of Family Change," in Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Wilbert E. Moore, eds., *Indicators of Social Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), pp. 296-97.

impact more evident than in recent developments related to laws as they affect social work.

Pending legislation and recent additions to the statutes, pending court decisions and those recently handed down, and the regulations that public agencies devise to implement laws all provide indicators of change.

Strong tensions are now seen in our society:

1. Individual freedom is often in conflict with authority and social control.

2. Due process is seen as an impediment rather than a facilitator of law and order.

3. The dignity of, and potential of, each individual makes group stereotypes inappropriate, but they still persist.

Legal material for many years has been presented in courses in social policy and in some practice courses, particularly in child welfare because of *parens patriae*. Standard topics have included marriage and divorce, adoption and guardianship, the juvenile court, commitment of the mentally ill, and the Social Security Act, among others.

Since the beginning of the civil rights movement, there has been an explosion both of new areas and of new issues related to old topics. A special course on social work and the law has become very popular. The new issues include abortion; drug abuse; consumer protection and ecology; changes in the legal age for voting and making contracts; women's rights, culminating in a proposed equal rights amendment to the Constitution; tenants' rights, tenants' unionization, and the right to withhold rents; new views of adult corrections; and equity in the financing of education based on recognition of the inequity of the property tax—a question submitted to the Supreme Court. In addition, there are the old issues of racism and minority rights.

#### MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

If the social worker sees his job as strengthening family life, how is that goal translated into contemporary terms? The need for reconceptualization is seen in matters pertaining to marriage and divorce.

Traditionally, in courses on family law the validity of mar-

riage and the tragedy of divorce were cited as prime factors in dealing with the family. The conflict among state statutes was a major theme of interest. The legal provisions of the fourteen states that allow common-law marriages were compared with the majority that do not. Common-law marriage was generally regarded as both primitive and immoral. The varying grounds for divorce and stress on the possible usefulness of requiring marital counseling or a cooling-off period before the final decree were popular topics. Divorce tended to signify failure in a critical area of adult functioning.

A renewed interest in marriage and divorce now comes from the current emphasis on individual freedom and youth's increasing disregard for traditional family forms, viewing marriage as elective rather than as a requirement for living together. More traditional youth may insist on marriage but accept the likelihood of a sequence of marriages rather than one enduring union. The replacement of adversary proceedings in divorce by the no-fault procedure is another pervasive change based in law.

These structural changes have tremendous impact on family functioning and will increasingly affect family law. Concepts of legitimacy and illegitimacy no longer imply the same positive or negative sanctions. Getting married is less important as a developmental task, and being married is less of a preferred status. True, communal living is not very common. If it should vanish from the scene, a wide variety of informal family structures would be seen as possible alternatives to the traditional, white, middle-class marital model.

Interviews with persons involved in variant family forms stimulate a long recital of incidents of discrimination from public and private health, education, and welfare services that highlight the need for equal treatment as well as for due process. The same stereotypes that have led to battles over school dress codes result in much more serious inequities for young adults who because of their nontraditional practices do not get service from the agencies. Equal protection and treatment are being destroyed as a consequence of wanting to penalize the exercise of individual freedom.

Much of the pressure for changes in marriage and divorce

come from attention to women's rights and the emerging philosophy that marriage is often more of an impediment than a help, that a permanent union is not prerequisite to the establishment of either a household or a family. A bill for a time-limited renewable marriage contract was introduced into the Maryland legislature two years ago. Much the same result can be achieved now without such drastic and threatening legislation through no-fault divorce provisions and free community legal assistance services for whatever minimum legal formalities may be required.

No longer can the social worker rely upon marriage and divorce laws as strong sources of social control. With new recognition of individual freedom of choice, strengthening the family may well focus on provisions of services without the value-loadings that have characterized the profession of social work and of education and health as well.

#### ADOPTION AND GUARDIANSHIP

Adoption is always of high interest to social workers because the idea of contriving a family is a particular challenge. Adoption is one of the few areas in which social agencies deal with persons who come to an agency out of desire for role fulfillment more than out of a feeling of role incapacity.

A traditional concern with adoption laws has been the provisions that permit independent placements—the basis for the gray and black markets. The traditional social work stance has highlighted tightening of laws so that at least all adoptions by nonrelatives should be made through agencies. The courts should conduct their judicial business while administrative actions should be left to the expertise of the social worker. In addition, the agency should make it easy for the unmarried mother to surrender her baby. This should be done with the social worker, with whom a trusting relationship has been developed. The major issue concerning guardianship was the reluctance of the courts to terminate parental rights in order to make older children available for adoption and to end the limbo of long-term foster care.

Now, both law and custom have been responsible for changes. Free access to birth control information has cut down the risk of pregnancy, permissive abortion laws have made termination of pregnancy much easier, and the girl who neither practices birth control nor has an abortion is likely to keep the baby. The supply of infants available for adoption is being reduced. Adoption is being revolutionized by legal emphases on the freedom of the mother to make her own choices and to change her mind and upon due process for both the natural mother and the father.

Concurrently, the emphasis on due process has led to a new concern for the rights of the mother in revocability of surrender for adoption. The Scarpetta-DeMartino-Baby Lenore case in New York is only one of several where decisions have affirmed the rights of the mother to change her mind. This is an illustration of an hydraulic effect: as the rights of the mother increase, the rights of the adoptive parents and the children become more restricted.

Another recent decision accords the father new rights. Stanley *vs.* Illinois involved the rights of a man who had lived from time to time with a woman who bore him four children. (In some states, this union would probably have been regarded as a common-law marriage; not so in Illinois.) Following the death of the mother, the State Department of Children and Family Services was going to place the children in foster care without determining the fitness of the father as a parent but was restrained from doing so by the U.S. Supreme Court in response to the suit. Here is another example of the hydraulic effect. The consequences of this decision may well be to delay other adoptions considerably, especially when consents have to be obtained from fathers who are serving abroad in the armed forces or who are unlocatable. While Krause<sup>2</sup> and other legal scholars have emphasized the father's legal rights, the child's welfare will not be served if the father has no interest in the child, if he is already married and attention to his rights destroys an established family, or if paternity is in doubt.

<sup>2</sup> Harry D. Krause, *Illegitimacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971).

These decisions suggest the same increased attention to legal process that we have seen in juvenile court procedures. A lawyer who has specialized in the handling of agency adoptions suggests that several steps will now become commonplace:

1. The agency must focus on the mother's needs and not emphasize adoption. There must be no hint of pressure from the agency staff, and a careful explanation to the mother of the freedom to make her own decision.

2. The mother should be provided with legal counsel of her own choosing, and the lawyer will also clarify her rights.

3. The surrender will be taken in court preferably by the adoption judge, and rights will again be stressed.

The safeguards involved will quite likely eliminate infant placement—a keystone of recent adoption practice.

#### THE JUVENILE COURT

The juvenile court used to be dear to social workers' hearts because it was the one legal mechanism that had been conceived and organized to apply social work principles. The young person in trouble was to receive attention in an atmosphere that was minimally judicial. Transactions should be informal, and every effort was to be made to avoid the stigma of delinquency.

The Kent and Gault decisions ushered in a new era repudiating informality in favor of an emphasis on due process and dramatized the fact that this informal system could result in denial of rights. Punishments resulted that would not be tolerated in the more formal adult criminal justice system. Racial and social class bias were common. Clear indications of legal rights and representation by counsel in a series of hearings culminated in an adjudication hearing. This procedure has served to satisfy those who are concerned with due process, even though the option of trial by jury is not required. At the same time, the Gault implications also have pleased those who are interested in law and order and who feel that a more informal procedure may not sufficiently impress the child with the gravity of his actions.

Although it received much less publicity than the Gault decision, the Kent case makes it more difficult to process juveniles



through the adult courts. Another age issue has arisen within the juvenile court system. In several states, girls up to age eighteen and boys up to only seventeen, have been processed through the juvenile courts. Several lower courts have recently held that this provision violates equal treatment, even though both the offenses and the characteristics of female offenders may differ from those of males. If eighteen is to be the new age of majority, that age should probably apply uniformly as the transfer point from juvenile to adult courts. One of the major problems pointed out by many judges, however, is the increasing number of juveniles who have committed felonies. The incidence of armed robbery, for example, makes that of truancy and incorrigibility seem trivial by comparison.

The major implication of the emphasis on due process for the social worker is the need for knowledge of the rules of evidence. Unsupported conclusions and clinical hunches have much less creditability than they did under the old system. The legal protections that are now available could also serve to reduce some of the class and race stereotypes, but the operation of the courts does not necessarily influence the preceding police handling that determines whether or not the child will come before the court.

#### PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Social workers interested in legal developments have needed to update their knowledge of the provisions of the Social Security Act each year since it authorizes federal support of social services programs, but they have not generally initiated new policies. Recently, the increasing cost of public assistance has led to a variety of proposals for welfare reform—generated more from the fields of politics and economics than from social work.

The issue around the recent Supreme Court decision in *Townsend vs. Swank* reveals the power of regulations in extending or restricting a client's rights. Although children were eligible to continue to receive benefits from Aid to Families and Dependent Children (AFDC) after age eighteen if they continued their education, the Illinois Department of Public Aid regulations had specified that benefits would continue if students at-



tended technical or trade schools but not college. The decision, however, favored the college students and theoretically, at least, would permit the plaintiffs and others similarly deprived of AFDC grants to bring action to recover past benefits and possible damages. A similar decision in New York found for a client who would have been approved by the Department of Social Services for training as a practical nurse but not for training to become a registered nurse. These are excellent examples of policies designed to keep welfare recipients in their place. They raise fundamental questions of dignity and worth.

These policies are especially serious if one agrees with Sheldon and Moore that "education as the purveyor and distributor of knowledge is becoming the major determinant of the stratification system. For better or for worse, our society is beginning to place almost exclusive reliance on educational attainment as the sorting mechanism for adult occupational position."<sup>3</sup>

Another telling illustration comes from a provision of the H.R. I bill. The workfare concept includes the interesting provision that recipients may accept jobs at 75 percent of the federal minimum wage, or \$1.20 per hour. Here stereotypes of the poor operate. The program would end up, perhaps, as an effective subsidy to the employer with no substantial benefit for the employee. To stress workfare at a time of peak unemployment makes the viability of the program questionable. Then to provide for a wage of \$48 for a forty-hour week hardly provides the necessary incentives. Here, too, we face questions both of dignity and of equal treatment.

Another issue that is important to human dignity is the concept of privacy so well discussed by Sanford Katz.<sup>4</sup> The high incidence of family breakdown, child abuse, sexual molestation, and other problems reported among the poor comes in considerable degree from their lack of privacy. Their problems are less well-concealed. Their children are stigmatized, and their motivations reduced.

<sup>3</sup> Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Wilbert E. Moore, "Monitoring Social Change in American Society," in Sheldon and Moore, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Sanford N. Katz, *When Parents Fail* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

## IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

Amitai Etzioni has explored the conditions under which a society can be master of itself in the post-industrial period. In Etzioni's words:

To be active is to reduce alienation because it is to make society more responsive to its members. The post-modern society inherited from its predecessor an alienating structure—the product of modernity—especially industrialization, bureaucratization, and the legitimation of the priority of the logic of instruments (or “rationality”). The post-modern society has added to this basically distorted structure an increased capacity for macroscopic manipulation, for the generation of a sense of responsiveness where there is actually none. There have always been groups of men who were unaware of the basic facts of their sociopolitical lives and, thus, acted in opposition to their basic interests and private selves. It is the scope and depth of such false awareness and commitment that seem to be new.

[In our society a] majority of the members are caught in the typical cleavage between their private selves and public roles and manage by treating their neuroses with drugs, alcohol, professional counseling, and the like, thus reinforcing the inauthenticity of the society which caused their malaise. There is a minority of retreatists who ignore their public roles and build lives around their private selves. . . . Finally, there are those who evolve new public selves which they collectivize and make the basis of their societal action. In these lies the hope for an initiation of the transformation of the inauthentic society. They are the active ones.<sup>5</sup>

This rapid survey suggests that all social workers need to be aware of major legal developments in a wide variety of fields, and that they must become much more expert in the process of developing evidence. They must become “pro-active” rather than merely reactive to the issues that have implications for social justice; that is, they must become policy-formulators and advocates. Those who are purveyors of service have to be willing to pursue issues and even to lose their jobs when they are asked to enforce policies that tend to destroy human dignity, curtail human freedom unreasonably, or limit due process.

<sup>5</sup> Amitai Etzioni, *The Active Society: a Theory of Societal and Political Processes* (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 617 and 655.

# *The Soviet Concept of Social Welfare*

ROBERT L. DAVIS

ALTHOUGH THE TOTAL WELL-BEING of the people is a stated major concern at all levels of government in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the concept of social welfare is conceived differently in the Soviet Union than it is in the United States. This is due, in part, to a differing philosophical approach to social welfare. Also, certain subtle differences are difficult to perceive when words in one language are translated to another. The Russian word *obespechenie*, when translated into English, has become "social assistance," "social aid," "social security," "social maintenance," "social guarantee," and "social welfare."<sup>1</sup> Bernice Madison feels that "social welfare" more accurately expresses the spirit and the range of the social services that are offered in the Soviet Union.

Historically, social welfare in the Soviet Union has been a major, underlying premise of the Communist political philosophy since its inception. It springs from the Communist goal, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Social welfare programs have been the means by which the Communist political philosophy evolved and the U.S.S.R. emerged.<sup>2</sup> The focus of these programs has been upon improve-

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<sup>1</sup> Bernice Q. Madison, *Social Welfare in the Soviet Union* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that in the first two months following the Revolution of 1917, two pieces of legislation dealing with social welfare were passed. Although the need for social legislation existed, the new government did not have the power or the funds to implement it.

ment of living and working conditions, income maintenance, free medical care, and sick benefits for workers.

Implicit in the goal of the Communist political philosophy was the redistribution of wealth and power from the Tsarist ruling class to the workers and the development of a "classless" society. The strategy for this has been to focus upon work and upon increasing the gross national product. Thus, everything in the Soviet Union is geared to increasing the nation's production capacity. *Work* is a basic value in the life style of the Soviet Union. It has been and continues to be the underlying theme of the country's social welfare programs. The work value is further enhanced by the fact that, today, there is reported to be a labor shortage in the U.S.S.R.

Work and social welfare, therefore, are closely linked. The services provided by the Soviet Union's social welfare programs are designed to assure that the worker continues to work, whereas the services in the social welfare programs in the United States are designed to assure that individual worth and human dignity are maintained through self-realization and opportunities for independent functioning.

#### SOCIAL SERVICES

The discrete services which are known in the United States and numerous other countries as comprising the professional disciplines of social work and rehabilitation counseling could not be identified in the Soviet Union.

In the area of social services, professionally trained personnel organize and direct the provision of what is called "material-household assistance" for those who need it. These services appear to include what are called "case finding" and "friendly visiting" in the United States as well as such supportive services as laundry, personal shopping, light housework, special diets, and so forth. In addition, there are ancillary services provided to workers relating to job placement; disability determination; pension and benefit eligibility; working conditions; sanitation in the home and work environment; admittance to a variety of sanatoria, health, recreational, and educational facilities.

*Social service workers.* Although the Soviet Union has a job classification designated as "social worker," it is differently defined than the same category in the United States. The Soviet social worker is formally trained for, and concerned with, the legal aspects of the over-all Soviet social welfare system. The training appears to focus upon the legality of eligibility for pensions, benefits, disability and social insurance as well as the rights of the worker relative to the various services under the social welfare programs. These appear to be the only paid workers in the system of social welfare and are employed throughout the hierarchy of offices in the ministry of Social Security in each of the fifteen Soviet republics. In many instances, their functions seem to be administrative.

The provision of social services, on a one-to-one basis to the workers in the Soviet Union is entrusted to volunteers, called "activists," and is very closely linked to the trade unions. The activists are somewhat similar to what are called "outreach" or "indigenous" workers in the United States, and they are very active in working with individuals in relation to their health needs. This cadre is directed and supervised by "inspectors" in the local office of the Ministry of Social Security. They are considered "members" of the staff. The elements of the inspector-activist relationship are not clear.

It appears that the activists maintain a very close, continued contact with people at all levels of society. They appear to be able to move rapidly, and with much freedom, in making referrals to appropriate resources and in pursuing follow-up activities in behalf of their clients. The extent to which their activities reach those who require them is not known, nor how well they serve those whom they do reach.

Some activist groups are more formally structured than others, but it is clear that these groups are quite fluid in character; they grow or disappear as the need for them becomes more or less visible. We do not know what administrative measures are taken to ensure effective service delivery by the activists. It was not possible to learn how these workers are recruited, nor what kind

of training or orientation they receive for their work; it is believed to be largely in-service training.

In a district social security office in Moscow which serves 55,000 clients, it was learned that the paid staff consists of fifty persons, two of whom (the head of the material-assistance program and an inspector) devote full time to social services. These two staff persons direct the activities of 150 volunteers.

In Leningrad the social welfare program has a paid staff of 670, with 40 engaged in organizing and directing social services in the 19 local social security offices which serve a total of 800,000 clients. This represents almost 6 percent of the staff. There are between 20 and 25 activists in each local office, or about 435 activists who serve Leningrad's social welfare clients. These activists, supervised by the 40 members of the paid staff, have a potential caseload of 1,840 clients. With such heavy caseloads, it is speculated that only those clients who insistently make known their needs for service get attention.

#### TRADE UNIONS

Following the Revolution of 1917, the Russian workers organized all-Russia trade unions which were "revolutionary, fighting organizations of the working class."<sup>3</sup> The early all-Russia trade unions accepted the International Labor Organization definition of social security which focuses upon the improvement of living and working conditions, income maintenance, free medical care, and sick benefits for workers. This definition remains the basis for the activities of the trade unions in 1971. The early trade unions played an active role in the development and promulgation of the Regulations on Social Security in 1918, under which the Soviet State undertook the maintenance of all invalids, orphans, and unemployed.<sup>4</sup>

In 1971 the all-Russia trade unions have become the powerful,

<sup>3</sup> M. Kaziev, *Social Insurance in the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1971), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Lidia Lykova, *Social Security in the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, n.d.), p. 11.



centralized All-Union Council of Trade Unions whose action arm is the Committee on Labor and Wages. The primary concern of the trade unions is with the social insurance system which deals with the over-all health of the public, and of the workers in particular.

At the national level, the All-Union Council develops one-year and five-year plans, provides guidelines and directives, formulates policy, prepares and initiates legislation, and monitors the implementation of the U.S.S.R. social insurance program. It is primarily concerned with the welfare of the workers related to health care, pensions, safe working conditions, and absences involving temporary disability and maternity cases, as well as the expansion and improvement of services.

All of the Soviet Union's ministries are centralized, with the exception of the Ministry of Social Security. Each of the fifteen republics has its own Ministry of Social Security; they are highly decentralized in their operations. While the rights and structure of each ministry are essentially the same, there are program variations due to differences in regional problems and in population composition. Formal agreements exist between the ministries of Social Security and the Ministry of Health, particularly in relation to the rehabilitation of "invalids" (disabled) as well as other health problems.

At the local level, the Trade Unions Committee on Labor and Wages works through and with the district office of the various ministries of Social Security in providing services to the workers. Each district office is reported to have a council of volunteers which seems to provide workers to carry out a variety of services for the trade unions and the district Social Security office.

There also appear to be volunteer "commissions" that assist in the administration of the social insurance program at the local level. These volunteers represent a wide variety of professional and technical skills and can function on a variety of commissions—eligibility determination for entitlements, pensions; labor protection studies; sanitation and hygiene studies—through assuring that the "enterprises" (industries) pay the correct contribution to the social insurance budget, and so forth. It is not known



how these particular volunteers are recruited. It is assumed that their functions are also closely linked with the local Social Security district office activities.

In addition, it should be noted that the administration of Social Security and allied programs is only one of the many operations under the aegis of the trade unions. First of all, they act as ancillary agents of the government in that they participate in deliberations at the enterprise level aimed at formulating production targets. In this connection they also play a role in fixing norms for labor productivity and encourage workers to achieve these goals through a variety of devices such as "organized socialist competition."

They also engage in activities which have as their stated objective representation of some of the workers' interests that are normally associated with the efforts of trade unions in the West. The central unions, for instance, express their views on how large the wage fund should be. On the factory level, the local union has some voice in determining how the wage funds will be divided among the individual workers. The unions also take a particularly active role in ensuring that safety standards are met by management. Furthermore, they adjudicate labor disputes, and no worker can be dismissed without the concurrence of the Trade Unions Committee.

Finally, aside from standing committees on social insurance, they also have a number of groupings which administer enterprise-level cultural, sporting, and club activities. All in all, a great number of workers are, in the process, mobilized in community and social undertakings. According to one source, in 1959 one third of all workers were occupied with one voluntary undertaking or another under the sponsorship of the trade unions.

#### HEALTH SERVICES

The Soviet Union's health services system is highly developed. Its primary emphasis is on prevention, and it is basically geared to keeping the worker on the job or getting him back to work. All health services are free to the workers.

*Polyclinics.* The most unique feature of the health system is its network of "polyclinics," where 65 percent of the country's physicians work. The polyclinics are a system of out-patient facilities and may be located in factories as well as in facilities within the community. The primary concern of the polyclinics is the diagnosis and treatment of nonsurgical and uncomplicated health problems. Health problems requiring surgical or highly specialized treatment procedures are referred to appropriate hospitals.

The physicians who work in the polyclinics are similar to "family doctors." They are responsible for the prevention of illness as well as for the treatment of disease. As their personal physician, the doctor systematically observes the health of his patients, studies their working and living conditions, and takes the necessary measures to assure that their health is maintained at the optimum level. In addition to his clinical practice, the physician is also responsible for the sanitation and hygiene practices within his assigned polyclinic area. This means that he is involved in planning for the construction and equipping of all new facilities (industrial or residential) as well as for monitoring existing facilities to assure that standards of safety and sanitation prevail in all aspects of Soviet life. The polyclinic physician is empowered to take immediate disciplinary action if unsafe or unsanitary conditions occur.

It is reported that there is sufficient staff at the polyclinics to assure that a patient's health needs are rapidly and efficiently met. All requests for medical care assistance within the home are supplied by appropriate staff who, in some instances, will take mobile units containing needed equipment with them. The physician has at his disposal visiting nurses and orderlies who make follow-up calls to assure that the physician's instructions are followed. Should a patient not respond in a satisfactory manner, he is transferred to a hospital for additional medical care.

*Medical clinics.* In addition to the polyclinics, there are medical clinics at some of the larger factories. The major emphasis of these facilities is to provide any form of health care that a worker may need during his working hours (drug therapy, pre-

scribed periods of bed rest, special dietary requirements); to provide education relative to safe working practices; and to treat any injury that may occur to a worker while he is on his job.

*Prophylactorium.* In recent years a new health facility has been developed for the worker, the prophylactorium. Somewhat similar to the "night hospital" concept that is available in some hospitals in the United States, it also functions as a rest home for certain Soviet workers. Admission to the prophylactorium is at the prescription of a worker's polyclinic physician. Workers who have cardiac conditions, high blood pressure, ulcers, tuberculosis, and so on, may use these facilities. In addition, those who work under stressful conditions may be referred to a prophylactorium for therapeutically controlled night rest periods.

A wide variety of therapeutic and recreational programs is available in these facilities, which are also equipped with infirmaries for emergencies. The prophylactoria differ from the other kinds of sanatoria in that they are usually located in or near the community where workers are employed, and they are primarily concerned with health situations that could be considered occupational diseases. The major function of the prophylactoria is to prevent or delay the onset of serious, chronic disease and to teach patients how to live more satisfactorily with health problems already contracted. The medical services at these facilities are coordinated with those of the worker's polyclinic physician and are made available to the worker at no cost, or for a small fee.

For the treatment of major or lengthy illnesses requiring expensive therapy or surgical procedures, patients are referred from their polyclinics to general hospitals or specialized hospitals. There are specialized hospitals for the treatment of infectious diseases, tuberculosis, mental disorders, ophthalmological problems, physical therapy, maternity care, and children.

#### VACATIONS

In line with the Soviet Union's emphasis on maintaining the health of the workers at optimum level, all workers are provided time for vacations. The trade unions arrange for the vacations

and have played a major part in developing the various vacation facilities in the nation.

Sochi, situated on the Black Sea in the Russian Republic, is in one of the most popular resort areas, a large national resort area which was mandated following the Revolution in 1919. The resort area is regulated and operated by the trade unions, which also set the criteria for admission.

Sochi is geared to the workers who are on vacation. The city can accommodate 70,000 persons in its lodgings or theaters at one time; 37,000 persons can be served in its cafeterias and restaurants at one time. In the course of a year, 800,000 persons visit Sochi. Twenty-five hundred physicians work there full time, with 1,000 of them assigned to the sanatoria.

A worker will stay an average of twenty-six days, for which the average cost is 120–220 rubles, or about \$133–\$224. Thirty percent of this is paid by the worker, with the balance being paid by the trade unions. The poor have all of their expenses paid.

As the economy of the U.S.S.R. improves, more workers are able to take advantage of the various resort areas and their recreational activities. Travel, hiking, and skiing are growing in popularity. It is reported that in 1970 the trade unions organized trips throughout the Soviet Union for 35.5 million people.

#### CHILDRENS' SERVICES AND FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Interestingly enough, while many of the nations of the world are trying to curtail their population growth, the U.S.S.R. seems to be encouraging the growth of theirs. Mothers who bear and raise ten or more children are given a "Mother Heroine" award, while those who bear and raise five or more children are presented with a "Glory of Motherhood" award. With the birth of a third child, the family is given a one-time grant, but when the fourth child reaches one year of age, the family is given a continuing allowance until the child reaches a specified age, which varies within the republics. Such allowances are awarded with the birth of each succeeding child.

*Family allowances.* It was noted that no liberalizations have been introduced into the system of family allowances in over

twenty-five years. The eligibility requirements are still the same as those mandated in a 1944 law; the amounts of the grant are still governed by the provisions of a 1948 law, which cut the original sum in half. Family allowances are available to unmarried mothers as well as to married mothers, although the unmarried mothers receive a slightly larger grant.

Expenditures for family allowances reached a peak of 496 million rubles (about \$550 million) in 1960, declining to 438 million rubles (about \$486 million) in 1969. It is interesting to note that during the same period, there was a drop in the birth rate from 24.9 per 1,000 population in 1960 to 17 per 1,000 population in 1969. There is a growing concern that not only are the family allowances inadequate, but that an inadequate number of children are able to benefit from them. Viewed nationally, it appears that most of the family allowances are going to children in the more industrialized republics. In the Central Asiatic republics, however, where the birth rates are the highest, the number of family allowances is high; for example, in the Republic of Uzbekistan, 650,000 mothers receive family allowances. This figure is the same as the number of industrial pensioners and is 50,000 higher than the number of pensioners among the collective farm workers.

It is reported that the greatest problem faced by the ministries of Social Security in developing the next five-year plan is the introduction of basic allowances for children in low-income families. It is anticipated that the program, based upon demographic studies, will be legislated and implemented by 1974.

*Maternity services.* The Soviet social insurance program provides for special health services for working women during the period of pregnancy, delivery of the child, and certain post-natal care. There is a network of specialized women's and children's consultation centers, maternity homes, and children's hospitals through which a variety of health services is provided.

The pregnant woman's initial contact is with the women's consultation center. If she experiences no unusual problems, her condition will be monitored through the contacts of a "prenatal" nurse who will also provide instructions to the woman rela-

tive to her pregnancy and regarding the care of her expected child. If she encounters difficulties during her pregnancy, the pregnant woman is referred to a maternity home for the treatment of her problem. She may be eligible for referral to her enterprise's prophylactorium and she may also require specialized health therapy through her enterprise's medical clinic, during her working hours.

The women's consultation centers make available legal aid to the pregnant woman, to ensure that all of the legislated provisions relating to her and her child are met. There are maternity homes in all towns and populated areas, and all women are guaranteed admittance to them. Each maternity home provides a separate nursery, which is monitored against infection, for the newborn infants and "to give the mothers the peace and quiet they need."<sup>5</sup>

In addition to maternity leave, which may extend fifty-six days prior to, and fifty-six days following birth, the family may receive a maternity grant for the purchase of a layette and baby food. Additional leave and special services may be given if birth is accompanied by complications and such are recommended by a physician. All services relating to pregnancy and infant care are provided at no cost to the family and are covered by the Social Insurance fund.

*Children's services.* A wide range of services is available for children from infancy until they are ready to enter school, at about age seven. "Crèches" provide care for infants to the age of three, and nursery schools care for children from three to seven years of age. Depending upon the wishes and needs of the parents, the children may remain in these facilities during the parents' working hours, up to ten or twelve hours a day, for five days a week—spending the weekends with their mothers.

These day care facilities fall under the purview of the Ministry of Education, which also trains the teachers through technical schools. The teachers provide in-service training for the "up-bringers," who are similar to our day care center teacher's aides.

<sup>5</sup> Kaziev, *op. cit.*, p. 47.



In-service training can also be supplied through other resources for both the upbringers and the teachers. The nurseries and day care facilities are provided with medical services. There are similar facilities for children who have poor health or who require special health care through sanatoria-type crèches or nursery schools, which reflects the preventive aspects of the Soviet health system.

Tashkent, in Uzbekistan Republic, has 500 institutions that provide day care services for about 50 percent of all the children under seven years of age in that city. One typical day care center is located in the middle of a high-rise apartment complex, constructed following the earthquake of 1967 which leveled Tashkent. This facility cares for 360 children ranging in age from birth to seven years of age. The children are divided into twelve groups, four for younger children and eight for the older children. Each group has at least one full-time teacher plus one or more upbringers. The center's staff is composed of fifty-six teachers and twenty-four upbringers. This center has a parents' committee and an advisory committee for each grade. Parents occasionally volunteer their services when needed. The daily schedule includes educational opportunities, play periods, rest periods, and carefully planned meals. The center is operated by the District and City Office of Education. In Tashkent, medical doctors are assigned, full time, to the larger day care centers. The smaller centers are provided medical care by one physician, who covers two or three day care centers on a full-time basis.

There is a variety of educational facilities for children, ranging from boarding schools through professional training at universities. Special educational opportunities are provided for the "not-so-robust" child <sup>6</sup> who also requires medical treatment. In keeping with the work ethic of the Soviet Union, many different educational programs provide vocational training. Teen-age children are encouraged to work, and special legislation has been enacted dealing with the rights, obligations, and prohibitions regarding teen-age labor.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.



Also available to children in the Soviet Union are the Young Pioneer camps. These facilities were developed by the trade unions in conjunction with the enterprises, and it is reported that about eight million children attend the camps. They are located in resort areas and some childrens' sanatoria, and provide a full range of recreational activities as well as educational opportunities, such as drama, nature study, dressmaking, and so forth. In most instances, there is little or no cost for attendance at the Pioneer camps; accommodations and travel to and from them are provided.

More recently, it is reported, summer Pioneer camps have been set up in the cities and towns. These facilities are housed in the schools, the Palaces of Culture, or the city parks. The principal activities of these camps are sports, nature study, hikes.

#### PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Welfare benefits in the Soviet Union are designed primarily for the Soviet workers who are qualified for Social Security benefits. These benefits have been mandated through the legislative activities of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions.

When one considers the breadth of trade union activity, and the extensive outreach of health services in particular, it is easy to assume that these services have been and are available to *all* of the people in the Soviet Union. This is not necessarily the case; for example, it was just eight years ago that the Soviet farmers were brought into the over-all Social Security system. As yet, supportive services, along with general public assistance, have not achieved adequate coverage for farmers and indigents outside the trade union jurisdiction.

Like all nations, the Soviet Union also has its destitute and its working poor. The indigent may apply to the local Social Security office or appeal to the local Soviet. If they are found eligible, they may receive a one-time grant to cover some emergency; continuing general assistance payments appear to be very marginal or even nonexistent in actual practice. Based upon earlier studies,<sup>7</sup> it was noted that there has not been any improve-

<sup>7</sup> Madison, *op. cit.*

ment in the provision of social welfare for people who are not eligible for the Soviet Social Security program, yet who are in need. Only those who are severely disabled and whose relatives are unable to support them are entitled to help, but the general public assistance program is not highly operational. The requirements governing "responsible relatives" were set forth in a new family code in 1968. According to this code, needy adults who are incapable of working must receive support from their parents, children, stepchildren, or grandchildren. Support payments are set at levels proportional to the supporting person's income and can be exacted by civil suit if necessary; the process of appeal is not clear.

If an elderly or disabled person is destitute and there is no responsible person to support him, he can be classified by his local Social Security District Office under Invalid (disability) Groups I or II. When he is so classified, he is entitled to a flat monthly grant, which is paid out of republic rather than national funds. These grants vary from republic to republic and range from 10 to 20 rubles (\$11.10–\$22.20) a month. The adequacy of these grants can be gauged by noting that the current minimum wage in the Soviet Union is 126 rubles (\$139.86) a month. If there is room for them, needy and disabled persons can enter an institution and receive full support.

#### SERVICES FOR THE AGING

It is a little difficult to get a picture of the state of health of the older, or elderly, workers because those with chronic diseases are lumped together under the different "invalid" categories. The picture becomes very clouded in terms of the rehabilitation of the older worker who has developed a chronic illness.

While it appears that there are good incentives, such as a retirement pension in addition to earned wages, for the older workers to continue to work in the U.S.S.R., it is reported that many of the women retire in order to care for grandchildren. The kind of employment that the man has, tends to influence his continuation in the labor force.

Although it is reported that the older person's work experi-

ence and wisdom are valuable to "production," it is probable that the kind of work that he has done has much bearing on the matter. He would appear to fare better on the collective farms (which have just recently been included in the Social Security programs) than in the more urban areas. On the farms, he may be better able to continue a familiar life style for a longer period of time.

According to the data from the latest census, 111.2 million people, or 46 percent of the 241.7 million people living in the Soviet Union, are in the age groups that do not work; that is, they are young people under sixteen, men over sixty, and women over fifty-five. The proportion of people sixty years of age and over in the Soviet Union rose from 9.4 percent of the population in 1959 to 12 percent in 1970. Soviet demographers forecast further "aging" of the population.

It is clear from Soviet studies that the proportion of the elderly who live apart from their families is increasing. This will require not only higher pension levels for them, but also many other social aids. If the movement to deemphasize the "nonproduction sphere" of the society becomes a necessity, in the view of Soviet policy-makers, it is possible that this will have a heavier negative impact on the aged and disabled who cannot work even when there is obvious pressure to do so.

The problems of the aging in the U.S.S.R. seem to be similar to those found in the United States: adjustment to retirement and loneliness. Both are tied in with the changing pattern of Soviet family life, from the extended family to the nuclear family, and with the mobility of the younger people to other communities or to the more urban areas.

There is the awareness that older persons could remain in their own homes longer, thus delaying institutionalization, if adequate outreach and supportive services could be developed. This, however, does not appear to be the emphasis at this time in the Soviet Union; the trend is toward institutionalization. The Institute of Gerontology which was founded in 1968 in Kiev made reference to the acute absence of supportive services for the aging, but its emphasis is heavily oriented toward re-

search in the physiological and psychological aspects of aging.

It appears that the greatest concentration of institutional facilities for the aged and disabled is in the Russian Republic. In 1958 institutional care was available for only 135,000 aged and disabled persons in all of the U.S.S.R., with 77,000 of them being in the Russian Republic. In 1970, the Russian Republic accommodated 173,000 aged and disabled persons in institutions, representing almost 70 percent of the persons in all of the institutions for the aged and disabled in the Soviet Union. This suggests that facilities for the institutionalization of the aged and disabled in the other fourteen republics are very limited. A study conducted nationally in 1971 reported that institutional care was required for an average of 215 persons per 1,000 in the population of the Soviet Union, previously noted to be 241.7 million. Although the Russian Republic plans to increase institutional facilities for the aged and disabled, construction does not appear to be able to keep abreast of the demand: in 1970, only 76 percent of the allocation for institutional construction was used.

In the current five-year strategy, there are plans for building more housing units for the elderly throughout the Soviet Union. These will not necessarily be medical facilities, although this need exists. Some of the units will be boarding homes, with lower flats reserved for the elderly in new high-rise apartment buildings.

Most of the boarding homes for the elderly in the Soviet Union have subsidiary farms on which the residents can work if their health permits it. These boarding homes usually contain only bedrooms, with balconies; there are large lounge and dining facilities where the residents can gather. On each floor there are sheltered workshops for those who wish to participate in work activities.

Free transportation passes are provided for the elderly by the Ministry of Social Security in Kiev in the Ukraine, but the local system of public transportation does not as yet meet all the needs of the elderly.

It should be noted that the health system, through its poly-

clinics, has developed a service called the "home clinic." This is the same mobile service that was discussed under the section on polyclinics. It appears that the majority of the recipients of this service are the elderly.

#### REHABILITATION SERVICES

*The disabled.* In the U.S.S.R. a great deal of attention appears to be given to the physical and vocational rehabilitation of disabled and invalided persons, in particular amputees. Because of the high casualty rates incurred in the Revolution of 1917, the Second World War, and industrial accidents,<sup>8</sup> the number of disabled persons is said to be quite high. The disabled (including those with congenital disability) are provided with necessary surgical procedures, fitted with prosthetic devices, and given numerous vocational training opportunities. In 1964, legislation was passed which provided certain war veteran amputees with specially equipped automobiles.

In general, the Soviet Union's approach to rehabilitation seems to be moving toward the comprehensive rehabilitation of the disabled. It is reported that a major goal of the current five-year plan of the Russian Republic is to establish seventeen comprehensive rehabilitation centers for adults and children within the republic.

It is reported that there are enterprises in each of the fifteen republics that are concerned only with the development and manufacture of prosthetic devices. There are seventy-six different prosthetic manufacturing enterprises within the Republic of Russia. Some of these are concerned with basic prosthetic manufacture, some with assembly, and others with fitting.

The Central Research Institute for Prosthetics is coordinated with the Central Bureau of Scientific and Technical Information. Information resulting from all rehabilitation-related research is disseminated to all parts of the Soviet Union for use in each of the fifteen republics.

<sup>8</sup> It is possible that the high rate of industrial accidents results from inadequate training of peasants with only limited farm skills, since they were recruited to meet the labor needs of the conversion of the Soviet Union from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy.

In the treatment of amputees, a major emphasis in recent years has been on the use of bioelectrical prostheses. These devices are based upon the principle that the body produces electrical currents which precede the movement of any bodily muscle. These bioelectrical signals are the means by which the brain gives orders to the body's muscles in order to initiate muscular activity. Through the use of a special electronic apparatus, these orders are intercepted, processed, and channeled into the mechanism which controls the movement of the artificial limb. Soviet orthopedic specialists and prostheses designers report remarkable success with these appliances and foresee a growth in the use and development of this type of assistance for the physical rehabilitation of amputees.

There appears to be a wide variety of educational and training opportunities for the physically disabled in the U.S.S.R., with the kind chosen being determined by the capability of the rehabilitant. The Medical-Labor Commission in each Social Security district office has the ultimate determination in authorizing the level of disability, amount of disability benefit, rehabilitation treatment, extent of future employment, retraining requirements, transportation needs, licenses, and other direct support for the disabled person. It was indicated that only 20 percent of the severely disabled are not working. Invalids may take a pension, continue to work in regular industry with a reduction in the work day, work in sheltered workshops (which appear to be few in number), or engage in cottage-industry type of endeavors in which they are paid by the piece for fabricating articles out of raw materials which are brought to them in their homes.

It was reported that vocational training for the disabled is provided in thirty-seven different professions. All vocational training is provided free of charge. There is known to be a network of vocational and technical schools and specially equipped secondary training facilities, but the criteria for referral to them are not clear. The ministries of Social Security maintain boarding schools, with special curricula, for physically disabled and invalided students who require such facilities. The training at these special schools usually takes two to three years, during which the students' total needs are provided free of charge. It



was reported that in the Russian Republic there are 53 special training programs in which 10,000 disabled persons are enrolled.

*The deaf.* The Rehabilitation Center for Deaf Mutes in Pavlosk, established in 1963, is one of many such facilities in the U.S.S.R. It is under the aegis of the All-Union Society of the Deaf which was instituted after the Revolution of 1917. This is a very active organization with programs in all of the republics. There are 150,000 persons registered with the All-Union Society of the Deaf due to its extensive case-finding methods which actively involve the ministries of Social Security. The Society operates on the premise that there are degrees of deafness; that there is always some residual hearing upon which speech can be taught through the utilization of special devices to increase sound. At the Center extensive diagnostic and therapeutic procedures are focused on the deaf patient to enable him to achieve speech.

At the Pavlosk Center they disapprove of the idea that deaf persons can do only physical work, and they have identified 1,200 areas in the trades and professions (which have been prescribed by law) in which deaf persons can work. They feel that a deaf person can work at any job except one in which hearing is an essential element. Those persons who are able to attain a regular State education certificate are encouraged to obtain secondary education, followed by professional or vocational training.

The Pavlosk Center has divisions of social work (which provides training for the administrative aspects of the society's work) and library science. The students are encouraged to take classes in art and have shown much promise in that field. They are also taught to dance. The Center has a printing house and a factory. The profits from these enterprises are retained by the Center for its maintenance and its research and educational activities.

The All-Union Society of the Deaf works with the Academy of Sciences in connection with the methods that they use to rehabilitate the deaf, with the Ministry of Health in connection with the patient's medical problems, and with the Ministry of Education in connection with the student's educational and training goals. All of the society's services are provided free of cost.



The Societies of the Deaf engage in extensive housing construction. They have their own houses of culture, clubs, and libraries and promote considerable amateur art activity. In Moscow the deaf have a central theater studio and many mimic theaters.<sup>9</sup>

*The blind.* Similar facilities and opportunities are reported to be available for the blind in the U.S.S.R. Both the All-Union Society of the Deaf and the Blind Society have developed competitive sports events and vacation activities, all of which are geared to the respective capabilities of the deaf and the blind.

*Job placement.* When the means of production are owned by the State, it is possible to mandate job slots in the various industries, to create needed sheltered workshops, or to develop cottage-industry tasks that can utilize the skills of the handicapped worker. There is, however, evidence indicating that difficulties do exist in the Soviet Union relative to placing the severely disabled person, even though legislation has been passed requiring that opportunities for work be provided to the handicapped.

The various industries and enterprises are encouraged to hire the handicapped through a system of incentives, such as reductions in their contributions to the social insurance program, reductions in their production rates, and so on. Lists enumerating the tasks that the disabled can perform are sent to the enterprises, offices, and collective farms, and each one is given a quota of handicapped persons that it is expected to hire. Implicit in the hiring of handicapped employees is the expectation that modified working conditions will be provided that are consistent with the individual's physical ability to perform his tasks: shorter hours, special rest periods, appropriate helath therapy.

The Medical-Labor Commission of the individual's local Social Security district office, in conjunction with representatives from the appropriate enterprise, work out the placement of the vocationally rehabilitated handicapped person. This is the same commission which determined his degree of disability, the training procedures for which he was eligible, and his disability pension. The volunteer outreach worker (activist) also functions in

<sup>9</sup> Lykova, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

a follow-up/liaison capacity. It was noted that the activists seemed less enthusiastic about working with the disabled than with the nondisabled.

The major sources of jobs for the disabled are the enterprises, farms, and establishments in which they worked prior to their disability. This source was established by legislation which was initiated by the All-Union Council of Trade Unions as a result of the activities of the Medical-Labor Commission. It is reported that plans for the future emphasize the development of a greater number of workshops that will be more suitable for those suffering from tuberculosis, neuropsychiatric disorders, cardiac and circulatory conditions, and diseases and defects of the eye—which are reported to be the most difficult to place in jobs.

# *Problems of African Social Development*

ABDULRAHIM ABBY FARAH

IN DISCUSSING THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS of contemporary Africa I do not intend to make comparisons between the situation of black people in Africa and that of black people in America because obviously there are vast differences in those situations. But certainly this much can be said: black people in Africa and in America are still suffering from the effects of that massive exploitation of their human and material resources that took the form of slavery in America and of colonialism in Africa. On both continents black people are engaged in the task of constructing or bringing about the open society, and on both continents they are hampered in this task by the legacies of slavery and of colonialism.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., described the open society, in the context of the struggle in America for equality, as "one in which each human being can flourish and develop to the maximum his God-given potential."<sup>1</sup> In similar words the development plans of many African countries emphasize the need to create a society which gives every individual scope to develop his abilities and to live a full and satisfying life. These would seem to be the basic aspirations of people everywhere, but for black people they have particular significance because for hundreds of years it was assumed that they had no right even to these basic aspirations.

In trying to outline the philosophies and the practical consid-

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<sup>1</sup> Whitney M. Young, Jr., *Beyond Racism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 181.

erations which are shaping the development of social welfare policies in Africa I speak as a diplomat and not as a specialist in social welfare, so I shall deal with the topic in its widest sense. An interregional group of experts which met in Geneva in 1967 under United Nations auspices to discuss social organization and administration concluded:

Social welfare as an organized function is regarded as a body of activities designed to enable individuals, families, groups and communities to cope with the social problems of changing conditions. But in addition to and extending beyond the range of its responsibilities for specific services, social welfare has a further function within the broad area of a country's social development. In this larger sense, social welfare should play a major role in contributing to the effective mobilization and deployment of human and material resources of the country to deal successfully with the social requirements of change, thereby participating in nation-building.<sup>2</sup>

The social requirements of change and the process of nation-building will be my primary consideration.

The development of social welfare policies in Africa, where the majority of the countries are newly independent and underdeveloped, is a complicated process that must of necessity take place within a number of separate but interlocking frames of reference. Achieving the open society is somewhat like the task of the old woman who had to get her pig to market but first had to make the stick beat the pig, the fire burn the stick, the water quench the fire, and so on before she could achieve her goal. For example, African states are committed to the establishment of those basic human rights which are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Many of the constitutions of the new states have provisions of the Declaration among their entrenched clauses. But providing the climate within which human rights can be enjoyed is dependent on the establishment of a politically stable society. It depends also on an economically viable society. There is a connection, too, between economic viability and political stability because one of the criteria of politi-

<sup>2</sup> *Social Welfare Planning in the Context of National Development Plans*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1970, Doc. ST/SOA/99.

cal success in Africa today is the ability to provide those economic benefits that were lacking under colonialism and are expected from the independent status. In turn, the economic health of a state will determine its ability to provide for the rising expectations of its citizens in the fields of education, health, housing, and job opportunities. Economic viability in most cases depends on the ability of the state to meet a number of challenges, the chief of which are those of industrialization and the need to change the widespread pattern of subsistence agriculture to one of profitable agriculture. Unfortunately, in Africa, no one catalyst will set in motion a simple train of developments which will culminate in the desired state of affairs—unless perhaps it is motivation for development on a national scale; unless it is a generally held and dynamic sense of national purpose.

I mentioned the question of establishing principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Human rights are based, of course, on human wants and needs, such as the need for adequate living standards and a sense of security, for opportunities for self-development, and the desire for participation in the processes of government.

Even long-established and highly developed states have not been entirely successful in translating all of these ideals into reality, so it cannot be expected that the majority of Africa's nations would have succeeded in the total application of those principles. Their feeling about human rights is best expressed in the words of the Iusaka Manifesto, a document produced in 1969 by the East African heads of state and government and later endorsed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the U.N. General Assembly. They wrote, in the context of their attitude toward the oppressive minority regimes of southern Africa:

None of us would claim that within our states we have achieved that perfect social, economic, and political organization which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for all our people and establish individual security against avoidable hardship or miscarriage of justice. On the contrary we acknowledge that within our own states the struggle toward human brotherhood and unchallenged human dig-

nity is only beginning. It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity, not on the basis of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility towards the colonialism and racial discrimination that is being practised in southern Africa.

The very widest of the numerous interlocking frames of reference of social welfare policy in Africa is the commitment to human rights, to human dignity.

But one cannot consider the process of establishing the open society in African states without considering the political framework—the search for national integrity and sovereignty, and for internal political stability—without which it would be difficult or impossible to bring about necessary social change.

A major cause of political instability in Africa, both with regard to internal conditions and external relations between countries, is that many states are defined by illogical boundaries which reflect only the spheres of influence and interest of the former colonial powers, and ignore ethnic and linguistic groups, geographical logic, and natural resource areas.

Creating national unity presents problems even in an ethnically homogeneous nation like Somalia where the tribes are patriarchal groupings of the same people rather than people of differing ethnic and cultural background, as in the Congo, Nigeria, and Burundi. Any form of tribalism in a modern nation state leads to nepotism, undermines political processes, and obviously creates factionalism and even violent conflict within the nation. In so far as tribalism is a divisive force and one which obstructs the normal processes of government, its eradication has been made one of the prime objectives of many African governments, including my own. There is, at the same time, a recognition of the fact that the sense of communal responsibility, which is a unique and valuable characteristic of African societies, has its basis in tribal custom and is something to be fostered and developed.

But all in all, tribalism is a backward force in modern African societies. If one considers the refugee problem alone one can have some idea of the tremendous impact of tribal conflict on the social fabric of African states. The refugee problem is com-



pounded by the existence of the oppressive white minority regimes of southern Africa which cause thousands of Africans to seek personal freedom in neighboring territories. A recent report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees says that there are over one million refugees in Africa today. According to statistics for the year 1969, there were 40,000 refugees from Equatorial Guinea in Nigeria, and 12,000 refugees from Burundi in the small state of Rwanda. Recent tribal upheavals in Burundi have led to a further flow of refugees from that country to neighboring states. From Rwanda itself, over 70,000 people left as refugees and took asylum in Uganda, a country which is also hosting over 34,000 refugees from the Congo and over 71,000 refugees from the Sudan. All the independent African states bordering the territories ruled by the white minority regimes of southern Africa have received refugees. In Zaire, there are 475,000 refugees from Angola; Tanzania has had 33,000 from Mozambique; while Senegal had 63,000 from the Portuguese administration of Guinea (Bissau). With the help of United Nations agencies the refugees are for the most part being integrated into the socioeconomic life of the host countries, but this process has added to the economic and social burdens already carried by so many African states.

What are the prospects for the future with regard to the threat to stability posed by the illogical make-up of many African states and by long-standing tribal rivalries? It seems certain that the problems which arise from the attempt to forge nation states out of different peoples will need time and wisdom for their solution. The recent reports of the terrible results of tribal conflict in Burundi are a sober reminder that the problem is still acute. On the credit side there is the stabilizing influence of the OAU. The OAU made a landmark decision, in its early days, when it decided that secession would not be countenanced and that the frontiers inherited from the colonial powers would be internationally recognized and not subject to change except by mutual consent of those concerned. The OAU has also been instrumental in settling some conflicts and in cooling down others. It is pertinent to note, too, that in spite of the many areas of



conflict there have been no major wars between African states.

In addition to the legacy of unfortunate territorial arrangements, many African states are contending with the legacy of political institutions, imposed toward the end of the decolonization process, which either had not taken root during the colonial period or were not suited to the particular conditions of each territory. A factor in the apparent political instability of African states, therefore, is the need to experiment with forms of government in order to find those most suited to the structure and ethos of their societies. Western forms of democracy are not necessarily suited to African ideas of government, and are not always regarded by Africans as sacrosanct.

Changes in forms of government are also engendered by the magnitude of the economic and social problems that face any government in power. Political stability, as I have already indicated, is to some extent determined by the success of political leaders in contributing to national security and prosperity. It is not unreasonable to hope that as economic conditions improve, political improvisations will solidify into forms of government which the majority of the people find acceptable.

Somalia belongs to the growing number of African states which are adapting political, social, and economic aspects of socialism to the African environment. While some states favor socialism, many more are capitalist-oriented. Political systems run the gamut from parliamentary democracy through one-party systems to rule by military juntas (like Somalia's Revolutionary Council) which consider their intervention essential to the restoration of a sense of national direction, and whose ultimate objective is a return to civilian rule when the necessary consolidations in all sectors of the national life have been achieved.

The one-party political system is one which has become increasingly popular in Africa and it is one which has been the cause of much criticism and misunderstanding in Western circles where democracy is inflexibly equated with the two-party system. It should be more generally understood that the one-party system comes naturally to the African whose identity is realized within the group or community and for whom coopera-

tion rather than competition is the basis of community life. The one-party system is, in fact, an extension to the nation of the typical African process of decision-making. Whether at the village and tribal level or within the one-party system, decision-making includes haggling, persuasion, and compromise—all of which are essential to democracy. In African eyes, once a decision is reached and the government takes over the implementation of that decision, there is no further need for opposition. Certainly President Nyerere of Tanzania has no more, and probably much less, power of independent decision-making than President Nixon, in spite of the fact that the one heads a state governed by one-party rule and the other is the product of two-party democracy.

In practical terms, the result of the Africanization of politics has been, in many cases, a greater sense of national purpose and a closer identification with the needs of the people as a whole. This has certainly been the case in Somalia, my own country. We began our independence with a Western-style, parliamentary, multiparty system. The result was the growth of the personal power and wealth of a small urban elite preoccupied with party politics which were directed almost exclusively toward their own interests rather than to those of the country as a whole. Another result was the growth of tribalism as a basis for corruption and nepotism. Since October, 1969, when the military took over in a bloodless revolution, there has been a much more determined and far-reaching effort than hitherto to mobilize the people for national development, and to extend to all, given the conditions of a nomadic society, the services and opportunities which are their right as citizens.

The idea that a country must live within its own resources rather than depend on outside aid has also developed along with the establishment of African governments that are in contrast to the political arrangements left behind by the colonial powers. National self-help is a cardinal principle of Somalia, Tanzania, Guinea, and many other African states.

All this is not to say that one-party system, or rule by the military or any other type of junta, is always ideal when applied in

African terms. One disadvantage of such systems that immediately springs to mind is that they do not make institutional provision for the peaceful change of government. But then no perfect political system has yet been devised, and there is hope that out of the crucible for political forms that is Africa today, there will emerge viable, indigenous solutions to political problems. There has never been an immaculate conception of nations, and there is no reason why African political labor pains should be less severe than those in other parts of the world. The outlook is neither more nor less hopeful than it has been, say, for Latin America, which has been much longer in the field and whose states still exhibit widely varying degrees of political stability.

Even if governments hold the most ideal philosophies about the rights of their citizens and have the greatest political stability, they cannot translate these benefits into the social welfare of their people if they are underdeveloped, which is another way of saying "if they are poor." Without question the highest domestic priority of African governments is to increase the standard of living of their people. For most of them this is an extremely difficult task, given the internal and external features of the economic system left behind by the colonial powers. There is a vast difference between the demands of independence and national sovereignty and the conditions considered suitable for the colonial status. It was not in the interest of the colonial powers to produce young Titans who would come to rival their own economic superiority. The independent African countries, therefore, found themselves without the kinds of economic bases which would allow them to take their places with dignity in the family of nations. I hardly need elaborate on the fact that under the colonial system the raw materials of the dependent territories were traded, in an unequal exchange, for the manufactured goods of the metropolitan country and that the whole structure of trade and communications was limited, so far as the colonies were concerned, by the colonial relationship and by dependence, in most cases, on a one-crop economy.

It is natural that people in Africa, as elsewhere, should want to achieve material progress; should want to embark on a course

of modernization aimed at reducing, as rapidly as possible, the economic inequalities of their societies vis-à-vis those societies where technology and science have ensured a higher standard of living. While the majority of the African people still live in conformity with traditional social patterns, the challenge and the lure provided by contact with technologically advanced societies cannot be ignored. If it were desirable to ignore this challenge, the radio, jet plane, and television have made it impossible to do so.

But since many of the developing countries are poor, either because their resources have not yet been developed, or have been developed principally for the benefit of others, or because they have few resources, tremendous problems have been created for their governments by the increasing demands, from expanding populations, for better services, more educational facilities, and more job opportunities. African governments are faced with the seemingly impossible task of assigning priorities for the long list of development needs. For example, should a greater proportion of the national budget be devoted to health needs: to freeing people from the shackles of malnutrition, primitive hygiene, and disease; or should education have the highest priority in a continent which has the youngest population of the world, where 45 percent of the population is in the age group that spans the period from birth to fourteen years? And what about decent housing to lift people out of slums or depressed rural living conditions? Priorities must be set not only between categories but within categories. For example, what kind or level of education is most needed if all levels cannot be provided for? Should more be spent on adult literacy in a continent with an illiteracy rate of 73.7 percent, or would it be more useful to concentrate on the bottom of the pyramid, primary education? And what about the shortage of the skilled and professional people who are needed at the higher levels of government, commerce, and industry, and who can only be produced if there are adequate facilities for secondary and higher education? In the field of health, it has to be decided whether more should be spent on curative medicine with its expensive upkeep in terms of equip-

ment and trained personnel in a continent where there is an average of one doctor to between 25,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, or whether more emphasis should be placed on preventive medicine. The list of agonizing choices seems endless.

To meet these needs, African governments are attempting to broaden the economic bases of their states. So far as the internal aspects of their national economies are concerned, they are doing so by diversifying their sources of production in both the industrial and agricultural sectors and assuming greater control over their natural resources through nationalization of, or increased partnership with, foreign enterprises. In spite of all efforts in these directions, in spite of the growth of the industrial sector, and in spite of a slow but steady growth in agricultural production, the over-all rate of development hoped for has not been achieved by the majority of African states. Approximately 72 percent of the African population is experiencing per capita growth rates of less than 2 percent per annum, and in many cases the growth rate is much less than this. And yet even if output were to increase by 6 percent a year, most African states would not even be able to keep pace with the demands of normal population increase.

The slowness of over-all economic growth is due mainly to the fact that African countries have not yet been able to reverse the trade patterns imposed by colonialism, and it is also due to the fact that their governments have to extend themselves in every direction at the same time. In addition to attempting new industrial expansion and expansion of the agricultural sector, they must also build the infrastructures which are necessary to support these industries and they must provide at the same time for the increasingly sophisticated needs of their peoples. They have a long way to go to make up for the lack of energy, power, roads and other transportation facilities and to develop the woefully inadequate basic supportive services in education and health.

In external as in internal matters, African states must attempt to change the economic patterns established by colonialism and, for the same reason, to broaden the economic base and so provide for the needs of independent status.

The external economic policies of African states have two major goals: one is regional cooperation, which operates chiefly through the OAU and a U.N. agency, the Economic Commission for Africa; the other is to persuade the developed countries to join in a cooperative effort to reorganize certain aspects of world trade patterns to make them more favorable to the needs of the developing countries. The main initiatives toward the latter goal are being pursued through United Nations bodies and agencies, particularly through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which takes place every year.

A major decision of the 1972 Conference, held in Chile in April, 1972, was the acceptance by the developed countries of a list of twenty-four of the least developed countries which are to be granted preferential treatment in the trade of their commodities.

The isolation of African countries from each other is another of the legacies of the colonial era, hence the need for vigorous efforts to bring about regional cooperation. In economic and social as in political matters the foreign relations of the newly independent African countries were formerly directed outward to the metropolitan powers and their orbits. The OAU and the Economic Commission for Africa are playing an important role in the direction of the external relations of African states with the goal of African cooperation and solidarity. They have set in motion a tremendous amount of preliminary research on the feasibility of economic, social, and cultural cooperation in a wide variety of areas of research which is beginning to bear fruit in practical action. The area of communications provides a typical example of the lack of, and need for, inter-African cooperation, and of the kind of action being taken to remedy the situation. Formerly, telecommunications between Mogadishu and Nairobi were channeled through Rome and London, and it is still often impossible to travel from one part of Africa to another without going via Europe. Now telecommunications and air services have been improved, and major highways have been planned or are already being built to link neighboring countries such as Kenya and Ethiopia. The most ambitious of these projects is the



plan for a highway to link the east and west coasts of Africa, from Mombasa to Lagos. The significance of this project is not easy to realize in the Americas where the continents are linked by a network of interstate and intercontinental highways. In Africa, where even internal highways are inadequate, the prospect of an east-west road opening up Africa for Africans is a tremendous spur to the dream of African unity; to the hope of seeing the open society, in African terms, prevail on the continent.

Among the many other areas of regional cooperation where progress is being made are: the market integration of regional and subregional groupings; the intensification of monetary cooperation; the fostering of trade unity; the implementation of inter-African technical assistance; the pooling of research on educational needs; the conservation of nature and natural resources; inter-African legal cooperation; the placement and education of Africa's refugees; and the planning of cultural festivals. There are enthusiasm and strong purpose behind the drive for regional cooperation, and even if it falls short of some of its goals, its contribution to African unity and progress will be significant.

I have dwelt at length on the philosophical, political, and economic frameworks within which social welfare planning is taking place in Africa because such planning is aimed less at the rehabilitation of the individual than at improving the living conditions of the masses and at enlisting their active participation in nation-building. Welfare services are seen as being primarily supportive of these wider aims. The two basic planning objectives of social welfare emphasized at the United Nations-sponsored International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare in 1968 were "that no one is left behind in the process of development," and "to encourage citizens to play their full part" in the tasks of development.

Africa's strategy for development in the 1970s centers on this problem: a small number of people in each country, generally found in urban areas, constitutes the forces for modernization, but they are surrounded by vast areas of rural backwardness. The overwhelming proportion of the population of developing Africa supports itself through subsistence agriculture. Even the



small but growing proportion of the indigenous population living within the monetized sector has a standard of living which is generally unsatisfactory. Wealth is concentrated mostly in small foreign enclaves.<sup>3</sup> Planning to bring about social change in this situation aims at promoting social and economic development in the large, relatively stagnant countryside; at controlling or eliminating inequalities which have grown up in the past between different sectors and different regions of African countries; and controlling the growing imbalance between rural and urban areas.

There are several paradoxes in the social situation in Africa. First of all, while Africa is one of the least densely populated areas of the world, and no immediate, over-all population problem is forecast for the continent, its rate of population growth of 2.4 percent in the period 1965-70 and the projected rate of 2.7 percent for the 1970s are second only to that of Latin America. Today Africa has an estimated population of over 300 million. By 1980 it is expected to reach 400 million. The question of population control is still one that agitates only a few experts looking to the future, and it is not an immediate concern of governments and peoples. This is understandable in Africa, where there is a high child mortality rate, where children represent the only form of social security that parents have, through the extended family system, and where population control is sometimes viewed as an attempt to limit the power of African countries.

Another paradox of the African social situation is that while more than 80 percent of Africans live in rural areas in settlements of less than five thousand persons, the towns are growing at a rapid rate. Urbanization at the expense of the manpower resources of the rural areas is becoming an important problem.

All the questions that I have raised so far and the factors I have described—and indeed many others that cannot be included here—must be taken into account in planning for social change and national construction in Africa. Most developing Af-

<sup>3</sup> "Africa's Strategy for Development in the 1970's," Resolution adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the ECA. 218(x), Tunis, Feb. 1971, p. 2.

rican countries have five-year plans of varying degrees of scope and complexity in which they set up the targets and define priorities of social change. In many countries, such as my own, the research data and the detailed statistics which the experts say are necessary for comprehensive planning are not always available. It has never been possible, for example, to obtain a dependable estimate of the size of a population which, in our country of nomads, is almost always on the move. Only recently, and only in the towns, has any attempt been made to record vital statistics. Birth, marriage, and death among the nomadic population are not subject to bureaucratic record.

When statistics are available in developing countries they have to be used with care, because where there are vast differences between the top and bottom of the socioeconomic scale, averages tell very little. Certainly, however, when there are so many interrelated needs, and resources are limited, planning for change is essential, and good planning can only be done on the basis of factual research. The developing countries cannot afford costly experimentation; they cannot afford too many mistakes.

What are the socioeconomic strategies that dominate planning for social change in Africa today? It is of course planned, and the process is already well under way, for Africans to take over, as they become trained, the skilled and professional jobs in the new industrial sector, in the established mining industries, and in the civil service that were largely held by expatriates in the past. As a consultant of the Economic Commission for Africa puts it, the aim now is to reverse the racial pyramid whose broad, flat, undifferentiated base at the time of independence consisted of millions of Africans living lives stunted by poverty and ignorance. At the peak of the pyramid was the small group of Europeans and other foreigners holding the best jobs and the senior posts, and owning nearly all the financial wealth.<sup>4</sup>

I have indicated how the goal of Africanization can be affected by the question of educational priorities. It can be affected, too, if planning for higher education is not directed to-

<sup>4</sup> *Social Reconstruction in the Newly Independent Countries of Africa*, Social Welfare Services in Africa No. 4, p. 19, 1965 ECA, U.N. New York.

ward the particular goals and needs of each country. Some developing countries are already experiencing the problem of having both a shortage of trained local people and an oversupply of graduates who cannot find suitable job openings.

I think the most important direction that planning for social change is taking in Africa is that of community development in rural areas. There are several reasons for the growing emphasis on "rural animation," to use a phrase which has its origin in the French-speaking African territories. First of all, the mobilization of the resources of the largest sector of the nation is expected to increase the national output and boost the economies of countries which are finding it difficult even to maintain the economic *status quo*. Secondly, community development programs foster and direct the sense of self-reliance and cooperation which many governments are emphasizing as the prerequisites for nation-building. In addition, rural community development helps to maintain a balance between rural and urban areas. Above all, community development, quite simply, aims to raise the standard of living of the majority of the people and to improve the quality of their lives.

Rural animation in Africa is an all-embracing concept. What the concept includes was outlined by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa which met in Tunis in 1971 to draw up Africa's strategy for development in the 1970s. It is planned that the transformation of rural communities will be achieved through technical and commercial arrangements; through the promotion of functional literacy and vocational training; through the provision of better water and electricity supplies; through the use of mass media for cultural, recreational, and educational purposes; through the provision of more and better health services; through education in maternal and child care, nutrition, and home improvement; and through the development of local institutions to ensure participation of all sectors of the population in the transformation process.

The attempt to mobilize the resources of Africa's vast rural areas and lift the standard of living of the people in those areas is perhaps the most significant form of social development taking

place in Africa today. Many African countries are in the process of filling out the details of the strategy as they apply it to their particular circumstances. The Somali government, for example, has initiated a series of crash programs whose objectives include fighting unemployment, providing people with skills, creating more settled communities in a largely nomadic society, increasing food production, instilling in the minds of the people a sense of the importance of working on the land and also fostering the spirit of self-reliance. In 1971 nearly twenty thousand people, formerly nomads, were trained as farmers in settled communities. These communities are being converted into state farms, family camps, and cooperatives. Certainly many of the young men now working productively would otherwise have drifted into the towns to swell the numbers of the urban unemployed.

Tanzania's *Ujamaa* (familyhood) village is another and perhaps better known example of rural community development in Africa. The inhabitants of these villages, which are now widespread in Tanzania, join in communal farm production and in the improvement of the facilities of their villages.

Another important approach to social change in Africa is through the development of human resources in the sense of the preparation of children for lives that will be satisfying to themselves and which will be easily integrated into the nation's productive processes. Having said this much, I must make it clear that the problem of educating the children of a continent which has the largest proportion of young people of any area in the world is one of staggering proportions, and only a beginning has been made toward its solution. The size of the problem is illustrated by the fact that in 1970 there were 66 million young people in Africa; in twenty years there will be more than 100 million. These young people will need schools, hospitals, housing, and, most important, they will need jobs. In Ethiopia alone, 600,000 young people will have joined the labor market in the period 1970-75.

Africa needs to be, and is, tremendously preoccupied with education. Its preoccupation is shown by the willingness of govern-

ments to spend an average of 16 percent of their national budgets on education, and in many cases up to 30 percent. But in spite of planning, the realistic appraisal of problems, and some inventiveness, the resources are insufficient to meet the need.

Difficult choices have to be made in deciding on priorities for various educational levels. This problem is best illustrated by the varying approaches of different countries. Tanzania places major emphasis on primary education and plans to provide secondary, technical, and university education only to the extent justified by the manpower requirements of the economy for development. A Kenya development plan states that the highest priority in education is the rapid expansion and diversification of secondary school education. The majority of African states emphasize primary education, but this in itself creates difficulties. There are now millions of primary school-leavers, unwilling or unable to stay on the farms, who are drifting jobless and untrained into the cities, where they add to urban ills because of delinquency, the growth of slums, and the additional burdens of providing services for expanding urban populations. Efforts are therefore being made to integrate programs for children and youth into over-all development efforts and regional development policies. It is hoped that community development will be a factor in keeping young people in the rural areas, and some specific answers to the question of what to do with postprimary young people are being formulated.

While traditional formal education remains essentially unchanged, apart from attempts to reorient curricula to the needs of independence, there are experimentation and new approaches to the problems of the postprimary school-leaver and rural youth. Many African countries have initiated youth service programs to encourage young people to stay in rural areas and to mobilize young people for national service and development by trying to provide them with training in skills and employment. Most educational reform is taking place in the area of vocational and agricultural instruction. There is wide acknowledgment of the fact that the ruralization of the education of a large proportion of young people is an urgent and necessary change.

As a recent UNICEF news pamphlet on Africa puts it: "The future of Africa may well depend on what the governments do with their young people." What they are doing is evidenced by the village polytechnics in Kenya which seek to provide the drop-out with basic skills; by the closed-circuit television in the Ivory Coast to overcome the teacher shortage; or by the use of traditional Koranic instructors to teach the three R's to young Somali nomads under thorn trees in the desert. These are all hopeful signs that the task of educating young Africans is being tackled with vigor and imagination.

No survey of social welfare policy in Africa could be complete without mention of the wonderful work that is being done by the United Nation agencies such as UNESCO, WHO, and UNICEF which help in the field of education through teacher training, curriculum planning, and in a number of other ways; with health needs through the provision of model health centers, particularly in rural areas, where curative work, mother and child health service, health education, environmental sanitation, and epidemic control are among the long list of services which are provided and on which advice and assistance are given.

In spite of seeming political instability, in spite of very real economic disabilities, there can be much hope for the establishment of open societies in Africa. Let me repeat that African leaders realize that the struggle to establish societies where there are equal opportunities for all has only just begun. Their commitment to that struggle can be seen in the social welfare policies that are being formulated to meet the challenge of social change.



# *The Case for Activism in Social Work*

JAMES E. CRAIGEN

IN OPERATIONAL TERMS, the clinician is a skilled practitioner or therapist who treats individuals, families, or therapeutic groups in order to enable them to perform legitimate social roles not being performed effectively either in the client's judgment or in the judgment of society.<sup>1</sup> The clinician's responsibility is to help the client to overcome his dependency, where possible, and to become an interdependent unit of social interaction.

Social actionists are practitioners who presuppose a disadvantaged segment of the population that needs to be organized, perhaps in alliance with others, in order to make adequate demands on the larger community for increased resources or treatment more in accordance with social justice or democracy. It aims at making basic changes in major institutions or community practices. Social action, as employed here seeks redistribution of power, resources, or decision making in the community and/or tries to change basic policies of formal organizations.<sup>2</sup>

These two change strategies are part and parcel of the same profession. They are on the same continuum of problem-solving, and they utilize the same professional code of ethics as a basis for sanction and legitimacy. This is recognized in theory but often ignored in practice. Many clinicians are not convinced of their dual role and responsibility as competent practitioners and agents of social change. They are oriented primarily to the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles R. Atherton, "The Social Assignment of Social Work," *Social Service Review*, XLIII (1969), 421-29.

<sup>2</sup> Jack Rothman, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," in Fred M. Cox *et al.*, eds., *Strategies of Community Organization* (Itasca, Ill.: Peacock Press, 1970), p. 22.



clients they serve, and they often place administrative decision-making and areas of policy outside their province—until they are promoted. For them, what happens at the administrative level is viewed as part of the “grapevine” or the informal communication network’s information system. They usually do not confront broader social welfare issues, unless these issues affect them directly. This orientation to specific function or to case-work-group work method serves to reinforce the dichotomy between direct treatment responsibilities and indirect but vital intervention at other system levels—levels which impinge on the worker’s role and on the client’s functioning.

Too often, agency boundaries or some special person to be influenced—a supervisor, a teacher, a colleague from another agency or profession—become the reasons for terminating or limiting involvement to the more familiar and comfortable levels of direct treatment or crisis intervention. Often the client’s need gets lost in this goal displacement process.

One encouraging sign is the push for client rights or worker advocacy at the direct-service level. Advocacy is increasingly being practiced with families, in planning at the macro level, and through technical assistance to community groups and para-professionals. However, this activity is still infrequent, and it creates an uncomfortable role for some clinicians. But it is a role sanctioned by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Code of Ethics.

Much of the pressure for the extension of social work practice into this arena came from the Mobilization for Youth program in New York City, the war on poverty in 1964, and the Model Cities Act of 1966. The two most recent catalysts in the system—the National Welfare Rights Organization and the Community Service Society of New York City—have made contributions by forcing the social work profession generally, and social work agencies and practitioners specifically, to rethink their programs, roles, and responsibilities. However, there is evidence to support the premise that social workers are more likely to talk about advocacy than to do something about it.

A 1971 thesis prepared by four master’s students at Jane Ad-

dams School of Social Work at the University of Illinois said this was due in part to three factors:

1. Professional education and practice has tended to legitimate a consensus orientation and oppose an adversary one.

2. There is not a consistent approach in the field as to how a social worker can effectively fulfill his professional commitment to combat social problems.

3. But lack of technical skills is not the greatest deterrent to advocacy by social workers; actually, it is their status as employees of organizations—organizations that are frequently the object of client grievances. Unless social workers can be protected against retaliation by their agencies or by other special interest groups in the community, few of them will venture into the advocacy role, ethical precepts notwithstanding.<sup>3</sup>

The profession recognized its responsibility in this area by adopting a civil liberties policy at the 1971 Delegate Assembly of NASW. This policy statement further confirms the practitioner's professional right to engage in this activity and guarantees financial support for him in the event he is intimidated by his agency or by others for taking these positive action steps. In addition, professional liability insurance is now available both for individual practitioners and for agencies engaging in both direct treatment and social action. If the profession is to serve more effectively its ascribed dual function of "dependency control" at the micro and macro levels, it is imperative that the profession undertake advocacy. The study's over-all findings suggest that "social workers do not and will not choose to participate in social action that is not institutionally sanctioned, regardless of the ethics and value base of social work as projected in the literature."<sup>4</sup>

Social workers, in spite of the Code of Ethics, have been more concerned with "being safe than sorry" because the operational norms set by the agencies frequently discourage social action.

<sup>3</sup> Sheila Bourelly, *et al.*, "Social Workers: Their Commitment to Social Action through Institutional and Noninstitutional Tactics," Jane Addams School of Social Work, University of Illinois, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

The hierarchical structure and reward system reinforce linear accountability rather than encourage independent judgment or interdependent collaboration in problem-solving.

Considering the fact that the practitioner is influenced so directly by organizational norms and funding, in a somewhat open system which often takes precedence over the professional value system, we get some idea of the pressure that clients, consumers, and victims face in their attempts to negotiate relatively closed systems. This fact reaffirms the value and theoretical posture of the social work profession, namely:

I regard as my primary obligation the welfare of the individual or group served, which includes action for improving social conditions.

I will not discriminate because of race, color, religion, age, sex, or national ancestry, and in my job capacity will work to prevent and eliminate such discrimination in rendering service, in work assignments, and in employment practices.<sup>5</sup>

It further recognizes that the solution to many problems can no longer be found by working with the individual or the family alone. Social action must be undertaken if an impact is to be made on "significant others"—both in the client's immediate problematic context and in the forces of the larger social system that affect the client's functioning. This requires an aggressive, activist posture on the part of the clinician at the institutional level where decisions and policy are made. In addition to the traditional role of providing residual treatment to the individual and attempting to help him cope better, the social worker needs to adopt a second set of strategies which attack the social arrangements—the institutional structure, roles, and relationships that contribute to the dysfunctioning of the troubled or troublesome person. Mayer postulates that this strategy of

structural change is more likely to be preventative because it attacks those factors in the situation that precipitate or aggravate problematic behavior. In contrast, residual treatment, to the extent that

<sup>5</sup> NASW Code of Ethics adopted by Delegate Assembly, October 13, 1960, and amended April 11, 1967.

causation stems from the social structure, is constantly employed against a never-ending flow of casualties.<sup>6</sup>

We need to recognize the validity of both approaches as complementary roles of the social work practitioner. Constant engagement in residual treatment for casualties reinforces dependency and the *status quo* both for the victim and for the social system. Constant engagement at the systems level or structural change level, on the other hand, can

correct those deficiencies that can be traced to the social structure of the situation, and leave untouched those factors that may derive from individual biological or psychological systems. Residual treatment . . . can attempt to treat all effects in an individual case through some kind of action, be it to insulate, rehabilitate, or palliate.<sup>7</sup>

Charles Atherton sees the major function of social work as the provision of interventive services at the level of the social system and at the level of the actor. The goal of this intervention is to provide resources for the individual that enable him to perform legitimate social roles and to change or repair social system elements that are dysfunctional and lead to dependency. This activity is the core of the professional assignment of social work and the major thing for which social work is held accountable by both society and the clientele.<sup>8</sup>

If Atherton is correct, then social workers have been reinforcing the societal attacks made upon the social work profession. We have been caught up in the internal fight of which strategy should be dominant and choosing sides rather than locking arms in brotherhood. In reality, we have been attacking the wrong enemy. The administrator, the community worker, the policy-maker, *ipso facto*, are not the enemies of the caseworker or group worker. Neither are caseworkers a millstone around the neck of the social activist. It has been safer to engage in this in-house battle; however, it is self-defeating and fratricidal.

We should, instead, be developing strategies that will accel-

<sup>6</sup> Robert Mayer, *Social Planning and Social Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Atherton, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

erate social change, that is, finding ways of creating opportunities in existing macro systems and micro systems for individuals and disenfranchised groups to move beyond dependency to effective levels of interdependence. That is not an easy task. It is, however, a task worthy of the profession and one demanded by history and current society.

The policy of separating services from eligibility in Public Assistance speaks to this point. It reportedly will free workers to give effective services to clients, consumers, or victims of our capitalistic system. But, this delivery system intervention is being propagated at the same time that an inadequate economic floor is being postulated in H.R. 1. Casework or direct services may help establish a relationship and may help clients connect with a supportive service. In rare cases this will provide the necessary incentive to catapult them out of the deeper cycle of poverty below an income of \$2,400 to what the Nixon Administration calls the "more respectable working class poor." Advocating a \$3,600 floor is still not adequate. In our professional capacity, social workers must advocate, lobby, develop coalitions and supportive alliances with consumer groups, other professionals, and so on. Is this enough? I think not. We have as an integral part of our assignment a direct responsibility to utilize our expert power, value power, and referent power through effective social action to pursue the ends of significant change in the conditions that perpetuate this syndrome.

One principle of systems theory—"equifinality"—may help to create a base for intraprofessional collaboration and ultimately help to bridge the gap between the differentiated functions of clinician and activist. "Equifinality" is defined as the process by which "identical final states may be reached from different initial starting positions and by different routes; the examination of operating systems can determine which system is more efficient to produce the same outcome."<sup>9</sup> Use of this concept presupposes an openness within the profession to examine the effec-

<sup>9</sup> Frank Baker, "General Systems Theory, Research, and Medical Care," in Alan Sheldon, Frank Baker, and Curtis P. McLaughlin, eds., *Systems and Medical Care* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), p. 20.

tiveness of the two approaches in achieving the desired output based on the nature of the problem to be solved. These initial starting points can lead to a transactional system of social welfare, where it is possible for both interventive approaches to be accepted by practitioners at the micro level and practitioners at the macro level.

Practitioners at both levels are professionals representing a subsystem within a larger system. Both represent a source of expert power. On occasion the clinician also assumes value power, that is, "the ability to articulate values to which other people are drawn." The social actionist starts from an operational base of expert power—"the ability to develop or possess knowledge in some area that is considered important by the social system." He adds, depending on the problem focus and his role and status, two other kinds of power: legitimate power, "the capacity to invoke the authority of position which is accorded by institutional norms and practices"; and coercive power, "the capacity to reward and punish."<sup>10</sup> The social actionist depends more on conflict strategies than on collaborative or relational strategies in attempting to effect change. However, in order to be effective he must assess the informal aspects of the problem, since systems are made up of people occupying roles with status and power.

Kenneth Benne and Max Birnbaum effectively point out that "both the formal and informal organization of an institution must be considered in planning any process of change."<sup>11</sup>

Where does this dilemma leave us? Kenneth Clark notes that "the value of ethical appeals is to be found only when they can be harnessed to more concrete appeals, such as economic, political or other power advantages to be derived from those with the power to facilitate or inhibit change."<sup>12</sup> More and more schools of social work are recognizing this truth and adding courses to the curriculum that deal with institutional and organizational

<sup>10</sup> Warren G. Bennis, *Changing Organizations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 168.

<sup>11</sup> Kenneth Benne and Max Birnbaum, in Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne, and Robert Chin, eds., *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 333.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 200.



change strategies which deal with issues of conflict, power, and influence. One such course describes its approach as emphasizing:

the importance of relating strategic approaches, which range on a continuum from consensus to conflict. . . . If the change goal involves some significant loss or gain of power (which may be in the form of authority, prestige, position, material resources) the strategies employed will very likely involve the use of conflict and coercion to create the conditions under which some trading and compromise can occur. If, at the other extreme, the change goal involves no major redistribution of power, but simply adds to or rearranges existing resources in the agency, then strategies utilizing education, cooperative effort, and open communication may well suffice.<sup>13</sup>

The designers of this course are focusing on intra-agency change and developing expertise at the systemic level. However, the premises hold for worker intervention and functioning within the profession. Given organizational policies or practices that do serious harm to the well-being of clients or staff, I agree with Alinsky that "the most unethical of all means is the non-use of any means."<sup>14</sup> Another significant curricular change is the development of generalist sequences in schools of social work.

Since the 1969 Delegate Assembly, when racism and poverty were designated legitimate priorities of the profession, social work began to tackle the second part of its mission, namely, control of dependency factors at the system level. This change has not been well-accepted by many practitioners whose area of expertise was in clinical practice. There was informal and formal discussion about the danger that this thrust would undermine the competence of the profession. Efforts by some, including the late Whitney Young, Jr., resulted in momentary appeasement. The level of resistance and the increasing disenchantment of many competent practitioners are still felt throughout the profession. Young's comments speak directly to the myth we are discussing:

The truth is this: I have heard some people say that we have gone overboard on social action. But the budget doesn't show this. We

<sup>13</sup> Rino Patti and Herman Resnick, "Educating for Organizational Change," *Social Work Education Reporter*, XX, No. 2 (1972), 64.

<sup>14</sup> Saul Alinsky, "On Means and Ends," in Cox *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 200.



have gone overboard on the rhetoric of action, but we have not gone overboard on the expenditures. . . . The important thing is that we have lagged on action and we are going to have to compensate. And this is why, for a while, there might be a preoccupation with action; there might be a greater priority so that we can be co-equal.<sup>15</sup>

If you will examine the 1971-72 budget of NASW, you will find that the budget for social action is still low—about 15 percent. In addition, social action still is not well-accepted in the profession as a legitimate activity. The increasing repression of the larger society, and the increasing usurpation of social work prerogatives in traditional clinical and secondary settings, is driving social workers to see the value of social action in order to maintain professional status. The crucial test of our maturity as a profession will occur when we see the validity of social action as a pro-active stance,

by recognizing the two foci of professional responsibility, this concept frees social work from the “social work is casework” fallacy by recognizing once and for all that the aim of the field is limited, not to the individual social unit, but to a problem area that has dimensions at several levels and responsibilities at each level.<sup>16</sup>

This is how we should be using ourselves systematically. The time is now.

<sup>15</sup> Whitney M. Young, Jr., closing address, Delegate Assembly, 1969. NASW, p. 148.

<sup>16</sup> Atherton, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

# *Individualized Services in the 1970s*<sup>1</sup>

VIRGINIA BURNS

THE PERIOD OF THE 1960s was marked by a rapid sequence of social legislation—the poverty program, Model Cities, Head Start, Upward Bound, the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and so on. A review of the social work literature of that period, indeed, gives the impression (or one might say, illusion) that social work and even the general public had shifted attention from the problems of the individual to those of the society at large.

The facts, however, do not support this assumption. For example, in his analysis of the numerous projects developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity's community action agencies, Steven Rose calculates that 94 percent of the projects were of the remedial social service type. Similarly, Roland Warren found that 95 percent of a sample of Model Cities programs were oriented toward services to individuals, and that only 5 percent were directed toward institutional change. This is despite the alleged orientation toward structural change in the thinking and writing of those who formulated the landmark programs of the Great Society. A study in Pittsburgh of private agencies shows that the new federal funds, while they made it possible for agencies to include more poor people, both as paraprofessionals and in their service population, were actually used to offer more of the same kinds of traditional, individualized serv-

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ices. This was especially true of family agencies which utilized the funds for counseling and individual treatment.

The infusion of poverty funds into private social agencies has led, in many instances, to a two-quality, two-class service system, with the professionally trained workers providing services for the middle-class consumer and the less-paid, less-trained workers providing services for the poor. Even more disheartening is the fact that when federal funds for poverty programs began to diminish, many private agencies reneged on services to the poor, going back to their traditional service patterns.

How did it happen that the Great Society programs which were intended to bring about institutional change to deal with basic community problems became permeated with a remedial services approach?

First, it must be noted that the actual dollar investment in social welfare programs in the 1960s represented less than 6.5 percent of the gross national product. Take, for example, the Model Cities program in which 150 cities have engaged in vigorous efforts to make an impact on the decaying sections of their communities. The total budget for those programs was \$575 million a year in fiscal years 1970 and 1971. That amount was about one third of New York City's annual budget for its public welfare program, which in itself is woefully inadequate.

It is not surprising, therefore, that those involved in the poverty programs found themselves doing the mopping-up work within the human service field; that is, attempting to improve service-delivery systems rather than changing social structures. We have seen a plethora of "reaching-out" services through detached workers, store-front delivery centers, multipurpose centers, home visiting teams, and the use of paraprofessional personnel to act as linkages between the professional services and those who seemingly are unable to use them.

A second reason for the failure to achieve the goals of the Great Society programs is that most models of service delivery have been predicated on the assumption of individual deficiency. This approach takes as its point of departure the particular situation of the "disadvantaged" or "deviant" individual, em-

phasizing that his or her problems are associated with his or her inability to function adequately. This orientation leads to rehabilitation strategies which are designed to adjust individuals to an unchanged social structure.

All too often, services are offered as cheap substitutes for an income strategy, and "treatment" techniques (counseling, job training for nonexistent jobs, and so on) are utilized in place of preventive measures aimed at eliminating poverty. Services and programs which do not impact institutional structures are essentially cost ineffective in social terms.

The substitution of services for needed structural change is inappropriate, misguided, and counterproductive in its refusal to deal with the genuine causes of poverty. Services should be returned to their proper and appropriate place as adjuncts to a basic restructuring of the economic system. Services should not be utilized or conceptualized as a means of treating "adaptive behavior," such as illegitimacy, delinquency, and drug abuse. While service programs of family planning, drug detoxification, and youth counseling can sometimes be useful to the clients involved, their greatest utility will be manifested as supplements to a restructuring of our social policies. Such a restructuring would in great part eliminate the causes of adaptive behavior and obviate the need for most such services. There should be less emphasis on "behavioral modification" of clients and more emphasis on "behavioral modification" of social and economic institutions.

It is difficult to forecast the role of individual services in the 1970s in view of the failures of the 1960s and the bleakness of the present scene.

In a trillion-dollar economy, 35 million Americans attempt to live on an income of less than \$3,000 per year. The substratum of the poor in American society contains 15 percent of the total population, two fifths of all children under the age of 18 and one fifth of all citizens over sixty-five.

Welfare programs have done little to relieve the problems of the poor. Only one in four Americans who live in poverty is assisted by federal welfare programs. General assistance

grants from states or counties are available to relatively few. In 1960 only 18 percent of the poor were receiving food stamps or food supplements from the government.

Welfare grants are totally inadequate. Persons receiving old age assistance average \$70 per month. Under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program the grant is \$43 per person per month. The Department of Labor has computed that an urban American family of four needs at least \$120 per person per month to meet minimum needs.

Although it has been heralded as a major breakthrough in welfare reform, Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP) would do little to alleviate poverty. The bill is replete with restrictions on eligibility. More than 1.5 million people could lose benefits or be cut off under FAP. Furthermore, FAP offers no protection to the rights of the recipients. Individual freedom is denied by sections of the bill: it would force a mother to sue an absent father before applying for welfare; it would force a mother of school-age children to accept any work or training regardless of wage or work standards, and regardless of availability of day care. In the sections dealing with fair hearings, the right to have a lawyer, the right to introduce evidence, and other legal safeguards are not protected.

For the time being, FAP has been abandoned, and in its place there is the Senate Finance bill which contains only the work requirement sections of the Administration's bill and leaves the allocation of welfare funds to the same state and local bureaucracies that handle it now.

If FAP were enacted, it could turn out to be even more complicated than the present system, with the program split administratively between two federal bureaucracies—the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Labor. In addition, the states could administer each of FAP's many programs separately, and recipients might end up being more harassed and certainly more confused than they are now. Essentially, FAP would do little more than save money for the states. It certainly would not help the poor.

Full health care for all has long been a national goal. Yet,

with the most advanced medical technology in the world the United States ranks fourteenth among nations in infant mortality rates.<sup>2</sup> In a recent year 13,000 poor people died in New York City for lack of medical attention. The nation needs 50,000 more doctors, and 200,000 more nurses are needed immediately.

Hospital costs jumped 50 percent from 1966 to 1971; yet patients still complain of inadequate care and inefficient services. The median income for doctors rose from \$25,000 to \$40,000 during that time—a jump that can hardly be justified on the basis of increased costs of living.

The advent of Medicare and Medicaid has opened the way for a massive new medical-industrial complex. Giant corporations have moved nursing homes, hospitals, hospital supply companies, and drug companies into their corporate profit-making structures.

Medical research increasingly has concentrated on the development of new products and new markets rather than on the development of public knowledge about preventive health care. Thus, while the health industry expands and we spend \$67 billion annually on health care, millions of Americans are sick, malnourished, live in polluted environments, and lack even basic medical care.

In 1949 Congress passed a housing act which called for a decent home and a suitable living environment for all. By 1968, Congress realized that we had fallen far short of that goal and acknowledged that in the next decade 26 million housing units would have to be built or rehabilitated. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 called for the construction of 6 million low-cost housing units at the rate of 600,000 a year over the next decade. Only one tenth of that number had been erected by the end of 1968.

In all, by the end of the 1960s, three decades of subsidized housing had produced 800,000 new low-cost housing units, while Federal Housing Administration loans and insurance guarantees

<sup>2</sup>W. Ron Jones *et al.*, *Finding Community: a Guide to Community Research and Action* (Palo Alto, Calif.: James B. Freel and Associates, 1971), p. 55.



had aided in the construction of more than 10 million middle- and upper-income homes.

Just as the health crisis had created a medical industrial complex, so the housing crisis has brought giant corporations into the picture. According to *Fortune* magazine, ten of the top twenty home-building firms are subsidiaries of large parent companies, such as Inland Steel, Penn Central Railroad, and Borg-Warner.

Thus, profit has become the prime objective, and too often this results in shoddy construction. The approach of big business to housing forecasts even more ticky-tacky, assembly-line units in the future.

While the housing problem touches nearly all Americans, it is the inner-city dwellers who suffer most. According to a recent Urban Coalition report, "if you are poor and non-white and rent, the chances are three out of four that you live in substandard housing." Those who are trapped in the urban ghetto often are at the mercy of absentee landlords who indulge in real estate speculation, benefiting from inflated rents while allowing the property to deteriorate. Tax depreciation laws actually encourage this practice.

The housing crisis is further exaggerated by the very programs designed to deal with it. Only 5 percent of the housing units demolished for urban renewal have been replaced.

It is to state the obvious to say that our American school system is rigged for failure. Statistics bear witness to the fact that our inner-city schools do not impart even basic skills to their students. In the early 1960s, Kenneth Clark reported in *Dark Ghetto* that 81 percent of sixth-grade Harlem pupils scored below grade level in reading comprehension, 77.5 percent in word knowledge, 83.3 percent in arithmetic.

It is ten years since Clark publicized these statistics, and yet the situation has not improved materially. Inadequate schools are by no means confined to the inner city. More often than not, classroom education is both fragmented and packaged into unrelated subjects: the clock, the bell, or the loud-speaker decides



when it is time to start and stop "learning." Thus, creativity, spontaneity, and individual decision-making are stifled.

Students are taught that this is a land of opportunity because everyone supposedly has a chance to obtain a good education. But public education's system of tracking belies this myth. In essence, the school system works to intensify class distinctions and to block economic mobility. Although millions of dollars have been poured into our schools, supposedly for educating poor children, the crisis in public education continues to deepen.

In this country, income and status traditionally have been attached to employment. Our work ethic dictates that only an economically productive person is a useful member of society. While this ethic may once have been based on fact, the facts are changed now. Today the government accepts a 4 percent unemployment rate as normal. The actual unemployment rate has remained above 6 percent for two years, and this figure may become the norm. In some inner-city and rural areas the unemployment rate is as high as 50 percent.

As a means of dealing with, or perhaps avoiding issues that relate to, unemployment, policies have been devised to limit the number of those participating in the labor force. Youth are encouraged to remain in school as long as possible. The aged are required to retire at sixty-five even though they may still be economically productive. Recently, many employers, including government, have been encouraging retirement at fifty-five. Minimum wage legislation, while raising the income of some, forces others out of the labor market completely.

In spite of the changes in the factual situation, society persists in doing obeisance to a work ethic. Those who are not labor force participants are stigmatized. Coercive work and training requirements are attached to income maintenance, even though jobs are not available and training programs are notoriously irrelevant to job-market demands.

In a highly technological society, where an estimated 8 percent of the population could produce the goods needed by the total society, the work ethic as we know it is dysfunctional and obsolete. In this type of society it is unnecessary and inequitable for work

to be related to income. The acknowledgment of this fact along with the implementation of a negative income tax would place the whole question of employment in a different light.

Work should be a matter of choice rather than a punitive threat to the welfare recipient. Such factors as the amount of additional income provided, the innate satisfaction in a job, and the psychological reward in the idea of work would become critical to one's decision of whether or not to work. The very definition of what constitutes employment would be revised. In short, the structure of the labor market would change. Since forced leisure is as punitive as forced work, it would be the duty of government to create or provide access to employment for those who choose to work.

The problems touched here cannot be eliminated or even alleviated by a services strategy. Nor can they be dealt with until we reorient our thinking about individuals and society. What is needed is a fundamental change in the structural relationship in society in a manner that is consistent with the basic goals of any democratic republic.

It is only under the aegis of progressive, structurally change-oriented policies that social services, which must be a smaller part of such policies and which must have well-defined roles in terms of the larger policy mechanisms, can become meaningful and effective in ways that they are not now. Anything short of changing the basic structure of society will make social services once again the pawns of inequity; in short, devices of social control themselves.

To illustrate our point, let us turn to some findings of the field studies which we have conducted during the past eighteen months. These studies include such population groups as: large, black, low-income families; the working-class poor; Mexican Americans; aging men and women; youth; mobile-home dwellers; and suburbanites.

The intent of these case studies was to obtain perception of recipients' needs, their views about services, the kinds of services they actually use. Ultimately, our goal was to determine ways of reflecting recipients' views in designing service-delivery models.

In summary, then:

1. Most of our respondents know very little about the existence of social services, aside from public welfare, Social Security, and health services.

2. Among nonwelfare recipients fewer than 5 percent have made use of public or private agency services other than police and health services. Preliminary findings suggest that service usage is somewhat higher among suburbanites.

3. The professionals to whom most respondents turn when they seek help are medical personnel. More than three quarters of the respondents in one study indicated that the only professional they had been in contact with during the past year was their doctor.

4. Among the working class, those with low income, the mobile-home dwellers, and the aged, the primary concerns are: income and income security; employment and employment security; health; and housing. With the exception of health, these are also the problems that services have least been able to affect.

5. In general, we discovered among all groups attitudes of extreme cynicism, fatalism, or resignation. The respondents express little confidence in the willingness, or desire, of most public or private institutions to help them, especially on their own terms.

6. Among nonwelfare respondents, we found that negative attitudes toward welfare and welfare recipients are related to their belief that they are not getting their fair share of entitlements in relation to their tax payments, contributions to retirement plans, and so forth. Many families with annual incomes as high as \$15,000 were in debt because of heavy expenditures for health care, mortgages, and insurances.

7. The interviewers for the study of the working-class community were themselves members of that community, and they were aware of the fact that many of their respondents were beset with pressing personal and family problems, such as alcoholism on the part of one or both parents, drug use among the older children, mental illness, mental retardation, rebellious adolescents.

Yet few of the respondents identified these as problems for which they actually had sought or might seek agency help.

8. In the studies conducted in Chicago we found that the local alderman or precinct captain often is the one to whom people turn to "fix things." It is this officer rather than any agency who arranges institutional placements for aged, infirm, or deranged family members, manages to get arrest records expunged, or gets youth a "break" when they are in trouble with law-enforcement agencies.

In addition to our field studies, we also conducted an assessment of current innovations in public social service agencies. The projects selected for review were those designated by federal, regional, and state personnel as promising or significant. We have reviewed in depth the innovations that have been introduced into public welfare systems.

While there have been some modest gains in the delivery of services in some of the projects reviewed, such as less lag time between establishment of eligibility and receipt of service, the substance of services has not been changed in any significant way. There is *no* evidence that the innovations resulted in more or better service for clients.

Our assessment efforts also included a review of state, county, and local experiences with separation of services from income. Here again our findings probably will prove disappointing to those reformers who hoped that separation would establish the rights of clients to public assistance without being stigmatized and to social workers who hoped to provide services without becoming caught in the entanglements of public assistance administration. Our observations suggest that this system is confusing to clients and workers alike and possibly even more inefficient than that previously in use. Even under the best of conditions, separation per se has had little impact on the substance of service delivery.

In our review of efforts to improve the integration of services we have identified some promising developments, as well as a number of failures and faltering efforts. It is clear that the avail-

ability and the accessibility of services are dependent largely upon the resource potential and capacity of the agencies to provide the services needed by their constituents, regardless of the structure through which they are delivered. We concluded that improvement in the quality and delivery of services does not result automatically from improved coordination.

In fact, our analysis has shown that the side effects of the current emphasis on integration of services, systems analysis, advanced techniques of program budgeting or data banks, and on the social and technical means of improving the coordination of agency services, are more disadvantageous than beneficial, because they distract attention from the social, economic, and structural conditions that produce the social problems of poverty. They perpetuate the myth that technology will correct a bankrupt welfare system by making it more efficient. They turn our attention away from the hard realities of poverty and inequality to matters pertaining to the installation of automatic information and retrieval systems, simplification of form recording, and management by objectives.

We are convinced that most services, public as well as private, have fallen far short of their mark, if they have not failed altogether, because the basic underlying assumptions are fallacious: (1) the assumption that individual deficiency is the root of social problems; (2) that a more effective coordination of remedial social services will remove the problems or at least reduce them to an acceptable "feasible minimum"; and (3) that somehow remedial social services will contribute toward the solution of poverty by lifting individuals out of poverty to self-sufficiency.

As an alternative set of guiding principles, we propose the following:

1. Services should embody a concept of community which stresses the shared interests and needs of community members, through mechanisms (institutions) which promote cooperation and collaboration rather than competition.

2. The standards of provision of services should be universal; the entitlement to benefits should be unconditional without respect to ability to pay; and there should be no obligation to re-

ciprocate on the part of those who receive services and are unable to pay.

3. The scope of benefits should be limited solely by the optimum needs of the whole community, individually and collectively. Benefits should be forthcoming as long as they are needed.

4. The optimum focus of services should be on the prevention rather than the treatment of socioindividual needs, and institutional and other structural factors should be the primary locus of attention.

5. The mechanisms of service delivery should reflect centralized policy-making and planning functions, but decentralized authority, thereby promoting self-regulation and control by recipients of services and making the service providers directly accountable to local needs of recipient aggregates.

It is my hope that these principles will be translated into a set of universal entitlements to benefits which are distributed unconditionally. For example:

1. The right to a guaranteed and adequate annual income
2. The right to expanded and diversified free education for all who wish it
3. The right to choose options other than work
4. The right to decent, safe, sanitary, and uncrowded housing
5. The right to security in relation to the common risks of living, such as losses through illness, accident, old age, loss of family breadwinner, and so on
6. The right to protection against arbitrary infringements of the individual sphere and of human rights by any person, organization, or power
7. The right of individuals and groups to influence the affairs of the community and state.

These and other long-discussed national goals and "rights" must become unconditional entitlements for all if we are to eliminate paternalistic welfare-state programs, which account in large part for the increasing powerlessness of the individual citizen. We realize, of course, the need for a vastly increased social outlay in order to create and strengthen the forces that even-



tually will replace a power society with more adequate, less aggressive, and more democratic structures.

We could pay a good part of the costs of developing and maintaining a truly great society simply by closing tax loopholes (\$40 billion) and eliminating subsidies to the rich (\$67 million). We have the resources, if not the will, to meet the basic needs of all Americans—and perhaps even those of all citizens of the community of nations.

Assuming an adequate annual income for all, we propose the following model of individualized services for the 1970s. It is what we call “context changing” rather than “people changing.” It assumes that the solution to social problems involves altering the larger context of people’s lives as well as changing individuals and their situations. This approach accepts the value of a strong relationship between the client and worker, but it rejects the assumption that the problem can be changed only if the client changes himself or herself. Rather it attempts to help the client understand the forces affecting himself or herself and to acquire the skills necessary to reverse those effects. It assumes also that problems can be solved ultimately only by groups of people acting to change situations together. Thus we see special services as having a role in involving individuals in the political processes of society, helping them to struggle for power to control their own lives.

Rather than simply summarizing the progressive aspects of our principles of service delivery, we will describe a functioning social service center which would incorporate many of these principles.

Such a center would be informed by context-changing ideas about the goals of social service. It would function within a neighborhood or community context, controlled by the people in the neighborhood or community.

Such a center might include the following services: a free health clinic open to everyone in the community; an advocacy section capable of assisting individuals in their dealings with other sections of the center, with other service agencies, with governmental agencies, and, in cooperation with similar centers,



engagement in public interest and class-action litigation and organizing. The center might also include organizing efforts for various survival programs (food, jobs, income), the overriding aim of which would be to change conditions as well as meet the needs of individuals. One such effort might be a local task force on schools which would encourage the development of open-classroom situations in public schools as well as engage in its own educational programs, give people general assistance in how to deal with other agencies, and discuss the general conditions, holding meetings and seminars on topics of interest to the community.

All services would be open to anyone in the community, and would attempt to integrate lay personnel and users as much as possible in the distribution system. Additionally, center staff should encourage coalitions of local groups with similar groups throughout the area, cognizant of the fact that many issues require the organizing of broad sections and constituencies and thus must carry beyond the immediate neighborhood.

Staff for the center would be recruited from the surrounding community as much as possible. Federal legislation for funding such projects should stress the desirability of independence from traditional political structures, an important element if the organizing activities of the center are to succeed in applying real pressure.

Such centers would not immediately replace existing social service agencies, but as they developed, the possibility would exist of transferring resources from the traditional agencies into the community-directed center. They suggest a point of departure from which we would be able to move to a time when social services are seen as a right and not a privilege reserved only for those who can afford them.

Our point, after all, is very simple. The function of individualized services in the 1970s should be to enable individuals to participate in a "community" which stresses the shared interests and needs of its members, through mechanisms which encourage the expression of individual creativity, while at the same time promoting cooperation and collaboration.

# *Client Participation in Service Delivery*

H. FREDERICK BROWN and  
S. LORRAINE SEIFERT

THE TERM "CITIZEN PARTICIPATION" began to appear in requirements for federal programs in 1954.<sup>1</sup> With each successive program to renew our cities, combat juvenile delinquency, eradicate poverty, develop community mental health, or create model neighborhoods, provisions for various levels of citizen participation have been required. There has been no consistent definition of citizen participation, and wide variations in applying the concept have been well-documented.<sup>2</sup>

Criticisms of efforts to develop "maximum feasible participation" have come from the whole social spectrum, ranging from the poor participant in an antipoverty program to the federal policy-maker.<sup>3</sup> The assumption here is that citizen participation efforts have been directed at a fundamental problem in our urbanized society, namely, lack of access to, or influence on, the decision-making process of institutions which increasingly determine the life chances of urban Americans. Unfortunately, maximum feasible participation has become one of the most misunderstood, controversial, and to a large extent dysfunctional as-

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<sup>1</sup> It was first incorporated as one of the seven requirements for the "workable program" for federal assistance in urban renewal programs.

<sup>2</sup> Sherry Arstein, "Ladder to Citizen Participation," *American Institute of Planners Journal*, July, 1969, pp. 216-24.

<sup>3</sup> See Daniel Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: Free Press, 1969).

pects in the various grant-in-aid federal programs. Some critics suggest that attention given to citizen participation and community control is a "distraction not an answer,"<sup>4</sup> which indicates that one path might be to abandon efforts to develop participation. Yet there seems to be increasing evidence that communities within large urban areas have become sensitive about this issue and expect a greater degree of participation than has existed. It has become necessary for us to look seriously at some of the criticisms of citizen participation for possible insights that can lead us toward removing the deficits of previous efforts, and building a genuinely effective model for citizen participation.

#### A PROCESS NOT A PROGRAM

Daniel Moynihan<sup>5</sup> has suggested that the concept of citizen participation in comprehensive social reform programs was nurtured and came into full bloom through the Grey Areas projects of the Ford Foundation. The intention of these projects was to correct the conditions which had led to protest, and to develop latent human potential at the bottom of the community totem pole. Moynihan feels that the essential factor to be remembered is that no program of social reform was offered but rather a process consisting of ill-defined citizen participation and coordination of participating agencies. This process then resulted in what Beck<sup>6</sup> sees as "substitution of words for action." Beck further points out the difficulty of defining the community and who its representatives should be. He feels the assumption that a "community of interest" exists among groups of the poor is not valid. In fact, as Moynihan has pointed out, such loosely defined participation has actually pitted various constituencies within the poor community against each other. Rather than a united coalition of the poor facilitating needed institutional change, programs have been carried out in such a way that they have produced a minimum of the proposed social changes and have possibly increased opposition to that change.

<sup>4</sup> Bertram M. Beck, "Community Control, a Distraction Not an Answer," *Social Work*, XIV, No. 4 (1969), 14-20.

<sup>5</sup> Moynihan, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*

## DYSFUNCTIONAL PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR

Problems with the poor's ability to participate have been highlighted by Sumati Dubey:

1. Fear of sanctions resulting from the power struggle
2. Lack of expert knowledge
3. Poor formal communication skills
4. Preoccupation with survival
5. Lack of confidence in organizational means as a way of effecting change in life situations.<sup>7</sup>

One may see these problems as only indications of the need for sound professional intervention. However, part of the indictment of existing service institutions has been the overemphasis on professionalism and limiting entry into the helping professions by requiring formal education and training.<sup>8</sup> Such policies have resulted in underrepresentation of the poor, particularly minorities, in the professions, which in turn has caused professionals to lose legitimacy with the client community.

## LOOPHOLE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE ACCOUNTABILITY

Further, Roland Warren in his study of nine Model Cities programs suggests that citizen participation has been used to escape accountability for success or failure by administrators of these programs. He suggests in a cynical manner that the objective of the citizen participation component of the Model Cities Program could be listed as follows:

1. To help reduce tension in the ghettos by giving residents a feeling that they were gaining power in community-level decision making
2. To assure the existing agencies that citizen participation would not require them to change in any basic way, or threaten any of their major programs
3. To give citizens the illusion that they were participating in major decisions but be assured that their participation would be rela-

<sup>7</sup> Sumati N. Dubey, "Community Action Programs and Citizen Participation: Issues and Confusions," *Social Work*, XV, No. 1 (1970), 76-84.

<sup>8</sup> Ralph Kramer, *Participation of the Poor* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 18.

tively meaningless and would not affect program development in any drastic way

4. To be able to convince many third parties—the federal agencies, the “man-in-the-street,” the press, the legislature—that “wide-spread citizen participation” had really been given a fair trial
5. To be able to account for any program failure on the basis that it was caused by the ineptitude of low-income citizen participation.<sup>9</sup>

#### INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CLIENTS AND PROFESSIONALS

Kenneth Clark observes that citizen participation in Community Action programs did *not* facilitate communication between the poor and those in power, whether professional staff or policy board members.<sup>10</sup> The educational and cultural background of the majority of professionals tends to couch programs in the language of the upper-middle class; to the poor participants, engaging in intellectual analysis of reams of jargon becomes an exercise in frustration. The structure, format, and context of participation were developed in such a way as to inhibit full participation of the poor in planning and implementation of program proposals written to meet the extensive guidelines issued by the federal bureaucracies.

#### NONPARTICIPATION AND ABSENCE OF ORGANIZED POLITICAL CONSTITUENCY

Lack of education and orientation to the mores of bureaucracy is not sufficient to negate effective participation. The history of the labor union movement reveals many leaders and organizers who lacked formal education, but who came to the bargaining table with the power of an organized constituency to negotiate with the power elites of business and industry. Cesar Chavez is a present-day example of a powerful negotiator. The problem is

<sup>9</sup> Roland W. Warren, “The Model Cities Program: I. An Assessment,” in *The Social Welfare Forum*, 1971 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 146–47.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth B. Clark, *A Relevant War against Poverty* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 238.

that the poor do not have well-developed organizations that could serve as the constituency of citizen representatives.

The efforts to employ the electoral process for selection of target area representatives is observed by Clark as a process in which:

1. The poor consider the process of elections itself meaningless.
2. The poor sense that the meaninglessness of elections is a part of a deliberate charade to present the appearance of power without the actuality of power.<sup>11</sup>

The reality of this relative impotency of the poor in the political process is cited by Juan Patlan in these examples in which local residents had been members of a Model Cities citizens' advisory board for five years in San Antonio, Texas:

1. Citizens voted on four separate occasions to reject a massive birth control program which was passed over their objections by the City Council.
2. Citizens approved a housing rehabilitation program which subsequently was rejected by the City Council.
3. Citizens approved housing relocation assistance to displaced residents only to be rejected by the City Council.<sup>12</sup>

#### INGREDIENTS FOR NEW APPROACH TO CLIENT PARTICIPATION

This analysis highlights only partially some of the major criticisms of citizen participation. It does not attempt to deal with the larger issue of the need for major restructuring of our society to deal with poverty, pervasive unemployment and maldistribution of resources in a significant way. The purpose is to suggest some new pathways for citizen or client participation which can begin to meet some of the criticisms leveled at past and present efforts. Within this framework a model for client participation and its trial application will be examined. Principles guiding this experiment are:

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> Juan J. Patlan, "The Model Cities Program: II. A Mexican American View," in *The Social Welfare Forum*, 1971 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 160-61.

1. Retain accountability for program with program administrators.
2. Reduce rancorous conflict by objectivity in selection of client representation.
3. Achieve representation by restricting participation to clients of agencies or consumers of services.
4. Stress articulation of client opinions on efficacy of services, problems that exist, and steps to be taken to correct deficiencies.
5. Provide systematic feedback of client opinions for planning and administrative purposes.
6. Ensure a reporting process by which clients are given reports on actions taken in response to feedback given.

The stress in this model is on "feasible participation," intentionally deleting such adjectives as "maximum" and "wide." The participants are to be consumers of service, suggesting that consumer opinion can have constructive influence on health, education, and welfare programs in much the same way as in the market place.<sup>13</sup> This model intentionally set out to obtain client perceptions of services without arousing dysfunctional conflict and struggles over who shall have pivotal control or power. This approach is in direct contrast to a conflict model of social change.

As one Community Action Program director once stated, "the establishment will not finance an attack upon itself."<sup>14</sup> Participation in official government programs has this limitation, and it is misleading to suggest participation models which do not take this into account. Such acknowledgment does not detract from the influence of social action efforts that confront a given system from outside that system; the consumer movement and the auto companies; or social action of client groups within a system, for instance, such as tenant unions or welfare rights orga-

<sup>13</sup> Paul M. Levine and H. Frederick Brown, "The Role of Service User Workshops," in *Position Papers: Model County Technical Resources Team* (Chicago: Illinois Institute for Social Policy, 1970), pp. 5-10.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Rozelle, Director, Total Action Against Poverty (TAAP), Detroit, in interview, January, 1965.



nizations which do not seek sanction or funds from local units of government.

#### TRI-COUNTY PROJECT

The Tri-County Project of the Illinois Institute for Social Policy (Peoria) was organized with a focus on coordination of state services through centralized intake and follow-up using a computerized information system. The director's administrative strategy was to intervene as problems were identified in the establishment of a coordinated service delivery system. Administrative responsibility for the various state agency services continued to rest with the county or regional agency administrators.

The director, in the planning and development stage of the project, consulted extensively with agency personnel at various levels of operations. Such contact provided him with the agency's perceptions of problems in service delivery. It was necessary to develop data on problems identified by the consumers of state services. The use of service-user workshops was proposed to provide a consumer feedback system for problem identification.<sup>15</sup> A faculty member and two graduate students from the University of Illinois were contracted to design and implement a trial model.

The objective of the workshops was to provide a vehicle by which a random sample of state service recipients could present their views and opinions of state agency services. The value of attempting to obtain a random sample of recipients as participants was twofold: (1) an objective basis for selection would remove bias or preferences of agencies or project staff; (2) such a sampling was expected to be more representative of the experience of the "typical recipient." This procedure was selected in preference to self-selection processes which tend to bring together only clients who are dissatisfied with services. The aim was to obtain objectivity in selection as well as balance in representation. The workshops were to provide impersonal data which might be more readily accepted by agency professionals in

<sup>15</sup> Levine and Brown, *op. cit.*

contrast to arbitrary directives by the State Coordinator of Social Services. This approach to client participation was an attempt to avoid the pitfalls of programs promising "maximum feasible participation" which in practice often disintegrated into struggles about pivotal control of programs. It would also continue to hold the State Coordinator and agency administrators accountable for adequate service delivery.

*Selection and recruitment of client participants.* In order to provide an adequate trial of procedures, two groups participated in the workshops. The expectation was that up to twenty clients would participate in each workshop out of the expected total of forty clients. The participants were to be recruited from 200 names randomly selected from agency files and chosen to reflect the relative size of caseloads. Five state agencies were involved in the selection of participants.

Following an introductory letter, personal contacts with clients selected in the sample were made by project community workers. Community workers attempted to contact clients at addresses given on agency case files. A preworkshop questionnaire was developed for community workers to complete at the initial interview enlisting participation. This instrument was to obtain clients' perceptions of state services prior to their participation in the workshops. Secondly, data obtained from brief individual contacts and recorded on the questionnaire were later compared with service-user workshop data.

*Structure and leadership.* Workshop sessions were planned to provide an open atmosphere in a nonauthoritarian setting where opinions could be freely expressed. Such an atmosphere would be greatly influenced by the setting in which sessions were held and the nature of leadership provided. Two conveniently located neighborhood centers were used and transportation was offered.

Project staff members experienced in leading discussion groups and with demonstrated ability to communicate with clients were chosen as workshop leaders. The deputy director attended all sessions to provide sanction for the workshops. He answered questions regarding policy in order to preserve the non-

authoritarian role of the discussion leader. University staff served as recorders.

Difficulties were encountered in gaining the anticipated level of participation by clients, and not all five agencies were represented in all workshops. However, hitherto unidentified problems in service delivery were revealed, some of which were:

1. "The caseworker acted like the money was hers instead of the agency's."
2. Agency regulations are too arbitrary in relation to the use of food stamps, for example, which cannot be used to purchase laundry soap.
3. Clients do not understand differential treatment given other clients by the same agency.
4. Welfare clients had to pay maximum public housing rent regardless of the size of their grant.
5. Private doctors often refuse service to welfare recipients.
6. No assistance is allowed for attendance at the local community college.
7. Hearing aids are not included in the budget for elderly recipients although allowed for younger people.

It appears that even a small group of clients can have many opinions about the services they receive; opinions which, if enlisted, can highlight areas of needed improvement in service delivery. Many of the adjustments suggested did not require additional funds, and in some instances regulations could be altered. A constant theme running through the discussions was that human dignity was often affronted by the attitudes of agency workers. One recipient commented: "We are rejected by society. Agencies are the agents of society to people who need help. Therefore, the agencies' efforts to help must work to render dignity to the client in the provision of services. Where this does not happen, changes and improvements should be undertaken."

This series of workshops provided immediate identification of problems needing attention of the State Coordinator. Some problems, such as the public housing rent policy for welfare recipients, could be handled in a relatively short time. Other

problems required sustained negotiation regarding policies or planning for in-service training of agency staff.

Future development of the consumer feedback system will employ a more extensive individual client opinion survey and workshops held at various intervals. This feedback system will also be incorporated in the formal evaluation of the over-all project which is expected to recommend major policy changes in state social service delivery systems.

Similar experiments are currently being employed in two juvenile delinquency prevention programs. In these projects, youth and their families will be incorporated in the model. Linking the consumer feedback with youth participants on policy advisory boards is being considered.

This model can provide an effective means by which clients can directly influence decisions regarding services. It does not provide a means for community control of programs, which some observers feel can best be achieved through the use of community corporations.<sup>16</sup> The community corporation may well serve as a viable vehicle for the transfer of power, but it cannot serve as the only approach to citizen participation. Political realities require approaches which provide communication and influence while minimizing potential for dysfunctional conflict.

In the complex urban scene, various models for citizen participation should be refined to provide workable approaches to broadening the participation in the decision-making that controls the array of social services.

<sup>16</sup> See Milton Kotler, *Neighborhood Government* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill and Co., 1969), for an excellent articulation of the concept of the neighborhood corporation, and Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

# *Manpower Training as a Solution to Poverty*

MARK BATTLE

THE FOLLOWING DEFINITIONS have been arbitrarily selected in order to limit the scope of this discussion; variations do exist.

"Manpower training" is a term embracing the range of employability development techniques available and commonly used to assist persons to overcome barriers to employment. The aim of these techniques is to assist the individual to overcome personal barriers, such as lack of skills, unfamiliarity with available options, and insufficient education, rather than environmental barriers, such as race, age, or sex discrimination, cyclical downturn, technological changes, or other matters beyond the individual's control. On occasion, specialized supportive services, such as medical care, child care, family counseling, and so forth, are added to the manpower services to provide assistance in resolving problems related to other barriers.

"Poverty" is at least a condition of existence in which economic and other resources are insufficient to enable an individual or a family to meet its daily needs. In general, we take this to mean those falling below the poverty standards set by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and revised January 7, 1972. These standards vary by family size from \$2,000 for a single individual to \$4,000 for a nonfarm family of four, and so on in \$600 increments per additional family member.

In 1970, this definition officially applied to 25,522,000 persons, 12.6 percent of the population. Almost one third of those in poverty were black or nonwhite. An examination of the data behind

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poverty indicates that this condition seems to afflict certain segments of the population harder than others—the aged, black, those locked into certain low-paying occupations, and the uneducated. The proportion of population in poverty has declined from the estimated 22 percent in 1959. However, of the eleven million adults in poverty in 1970, about one half were in the labor force and earning less than the low-income standards.

The pairing of these two terms, manpower training and poverty, is not accidental. A number of sequential developments on the national scene resulted in the linking of these terms for policy purposes through a series of governmental programs, under successive administrations. The result is that these terms are inextricably linked in policy terminology but not necessarily in reality. Obviously, the solution to poverty is to have enough money available to cross the “breakout threshold” to relative economic empowerment. The essence of manpower training is to provide the trainee with enough skill to command an adequate wage in the job market. The link, therefore, ought to be that manpower training is the route to freedom from poverty. Is this the true impact of training? Has manpower training been directed toward the resolution of poverty? It is my thesis here that a series of illusions about the reasons for prevailing labor market conditions has resulted in an inconsistent approach in the use of manpower training as a weapon against poverty. The programs represented in the broad definition of the term have, in fact, been stockpiled in the arsenal of each federal administration and trotted out to use in defense of the current bugaboo.

The philosophical basis for the federal government’s moving into the manpower training arena has always been presumed to rest on the Full Employment Act of 1946, which enunciated maximum employment, production, and purchasing power as a national objective. The more compelling immediate impetus, however, was the unusually high unemployment levels during the 1957–58 recession. A peak of 6.8 percent unemployment was reached in 1958 which was higher than any period since the depression. The Kennedy Administration began in 1961 with a commitment to return to full employment.



Since 1961 the federal government has been involved in the training of civilians to improve their chances of obtaining suitable employment. It already had a long history of training soldiers. Under the authority of the Area Redevelopment Act, passed in 1961, unemployed residents of economically impacted areas could be enrolled in manpower training programs. The major thrust of that program was to provide (through the Department of Commerce) loans and grants to help attract new industry into the depressed areas. The training programs were secondary to the economic development aspects of the legislation; nonetheless, they represented a significant turning point for the United States in the development and use of manpower training as an instrument of social and economic policy. But the need for manpower training as an ongoing activity to retrain workers or to provide them with initial skills was never used as a straightforward rationale in its own right. Moreover, the poor and the disadvantaged minorities were never a target group. Instead, the training itself was subordinate to the larger problem and purpose which revolved around a specific view of the labor market.

In the case of the Area Redevelopment Act, the larger purpose was, of course, economic development, which is at least an excellent companion to skill training—assuming that jobs are actually being generated or that the scale of development is such that jobs can be generated. The rationale for providing economic development was that certain geographic sections of the country had not participated fully in the postwar economic boom for reasons beyond their control. Indeed, some had shown a steady decline in economic activity. The reasons were varied: technical change, as in the West Virginia coal mining area; regressive local government policies; mismanaged Indian reservations; foreign competition; institutional racism. It was felt that selective infusion of government funds in those areas might increase their attractiveness as industrial locations. This was not true for black ghettos which were also depressed areas. In actual fact, the decay and neglect in many of these areas were frequently so advanced as to require very basic shoring up of com-



munities before they could accommodate new industry. For example, a number of grants were used to build sewage systems in small towns. Another fluke in the system turned out to be the danger of financing "runaway plants," particularly those in the highly competitive and mobile apparel industry. The specter of the "runaway" loomed large for a time, probably larger than warranted because of the reaction of organized labor. A beginning, and only a beginning, was made with reference to racial discrimination in employment by way of the Presidential order creating the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It was friendly persuasion institutionalized.

#### MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

A concurrent concern during these years was the failure of the economy to recover from the recession of the late 1950s which left a legacy of high unemployment rates that failed to diminish even though other economic indicators improved. It was widely assumed that a major reason for this was technological displacement, particularly of older workers. The solution was thought to be contained in the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 which established training authority to be jointly shared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) and the Department of Labor (DOL), permitting the conduct of institutional (classroom) and on-the-job training for the unemployed. A policy decision during the first years of the program's operation further narrowed its scope to give priority to unemployed heads of households with three or more years of working experience. This made it very much a white, middle-class-directed program. Youth unemployment was recognized as a problem, but an upper limit was placed on youth participation, and lower training allowances were stipulated for youth. As a matter of practical fact, however, the unemployed, middle-class, experienced worker who had been displaced by automation did not materialize in sufficient numbers to justify anticipated program levels. There had been a misinterpretation of the nation's need and the underlying causes of the unemployment levels.

During the early 1960s the social conscience of the nation began to be stirred and directed toward another problem, namely, poverty. Its pervasiveness made it apparent that poverty cut across a number of lines to affect those in depressed areas, those without occupational skills, youth, the elderly, the unemployed, and a number of others who were being dealt with in piecemeal fashion by DOL and other agencies. The assassination of President Kennedy crystallized the commitment of the nation and its political leaders temporarily.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

In 1964, with the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, a new aspect of manpower training was inaugurated called "work experience for youth." It was quickly labeled the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). Some saw it as harking back to WPA days and the make-work jobs developed during the depression; others saw it as an opportunity to obtain needed additions to available public services while providing useful work experiences and necessary funds to youth who would otherwise add to the explosive problems existing in urban areas. In fact, it was part of a youth employment proposal which had been pending under the sponsorship of Senator Hubert Humphrey and the Kennedy Administration. It was simply incorporated into the stew which was the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) along with its other part, the Job Corps.

When the NYC introduced a strict income test for enrollment in the program, for the first time a manpower program was put into the role of dealing with poverty as its first priority. The NYC program, particularly its summer component, grew in Congressional popularity and at its peak in the summer of 1971 enrolled 578,000 youth under twenty-two. Even at its height, however, all those programs focused on youth enrolled less than 10 percent of the number estimated to need such services. Even for those who were enrolled, only the most blandly optimistic or cynical would say that a few hundred dollars in the pockets of children for twelve weeks would lift a family out of poverty.

## OPERATION MAINSTREAM

In 1966, and after, the recognition of poverty was more of a root concern of manpower agencies than unemployment and produced an administrative decision to redirect at least 65 percent of MDTA enrollment opportunity to the poor and disadvantaged. Under the aegis of the EOA, other programs were developed to build on work experience as a programmatic approach. One of the most popular of these is Operation Mainstream, which functions as a job-creation program for unemployed older workers in predominantly rural areas. Even those who favored the macroeconomic approach, that is, those who believe that the solution to unemployment lies in over-all economic and fiscal policies, conceded in the latter part of the 1960s that there were incredibly large pockets of unemployment despite increases in total employment and in the gross national product. The burden of unemployment fell heaviest on most of the same groups that suffered from chronic poverty—minorities, youth, the unskilled, the elderly.

## NEW CAREERS PROGRAM

In the debate that raged throughout the decade about the causes of unemployment both the structuralists and the macroeconomists probably conceded that some tinkering with the demand side of the equation, the job market, was necessary from either point of view. The market contained some rigidities and inequities which could and should be eliminated to provide maximum benefits from existing labor exchange mechanisms. For instance, the problem of providing upward mobility in jobs in the human services sector prompted the Scheuer amendment to the EOA which created the New Careers program. This farsighted program provided funds to pay decent hourly wages to persons in work-experience slots which lead through a structured series of steps requiring further training, education, and experience. It introduced and gave institutional sanction to the paraprofessional in a wide variety of occupations. Later this concept was

expanded throughout the public sector to encourage important institutional change, particularly in state and local governments. It was also felt that these career leaders would permit more members of client groups to be employed by the agencies that serve them. More important, the program provided for the creation of a second route to developing professional manpower.

#### JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR PROGRAM

Another part of the checkered development of manpower programs emerged during the latter part of the decade with the realization that poverty and the lack of appropriate manpower training were problems which should be attacked by private industry as well as by the government. A highly visible thrust was begun to increase business and industry involvement in manpower programs. This effort culminated in creation of the National Alliance of Businessmen to promote and involve businesses in the development of training under the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector program. This was an on-the-job training program in which the government paid the extra costs to firms for providing supportive services incidental to hiring and training the disadvantaged. The businessmen, on the other hand, provided jobs from the beginning of the training period. Employers who succeeded in their part of the program were rewarded twice: by getting trained workers and getting them at no cost. Those who failed were financially penalized for the workers they failed to keep.

#### CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

As a part of the response to the recognition that the needs of the poor could not always be defined in terms of pure training, supportive services such as day care for children of working mothers, basic education, and medical care began to account for larger and larger portions of the manpower dollar throughout the 1960s. The combination of possible services varied, to some degree, with the perceived needs of the area; yet few of the legislatively mandated programs permitted local flexibility. One attempt to address this problem came in the development of the

Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) in 1967. CEP used a mixture of EOA and MDTA funds to provide areas of highly concentrated poverty and unemployment (urban areas, for the most part) with a delivery system which could include a variety of components tailored to meet the needs of that community's poverty groups. However, CEP was not a manpower training program; it was a systematic approach to coordinating manpower training with efforts to pacify the concentrations of disadvantaged and unemployed in the urban and rural ghettos.

#### COMMUNITY ACTION

The influence of government funding on community institutions was an important factor throughout the 1960s. For the first time, the federal government financed organizations that became advocates of client groups as well as operators of programs. Such organizations as community action agencies, the YMCA, and Green Thumb, in rural areas, burgeoned during the 1960s. Their largest funding source was the federal government, but they challenged other federal institutions as well as each other in a fierce competition to win the poor, to outdo each other doing good. Was this one more of the illusions of the decade? When funding grew more sparse with the decline in OEO prestige and community action as a popular program, manpower funds became the salvation for many of the more specialized organizations. The illusion here may be that "community action" was not that in actuality but merely a model puppet, a federal imitation of the real thing, that bobbed, weaved, and bowed as the federal puppeteer pulled the strings. Rather than representing a real trend, the community action involvement with manpower training on behalf of the poor may have been just one more technique tried and discarded with the arrival of a new administration and a new political bugaboo.

#### EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

After many legislative false starts and numerous attempts, 1971 saw the passage of the first public employment program, so-called, since the 1930s. There had been others such as the NYC

summer effort which were close albeit they were really income-transfer programs under the guise of work experience, according to some. The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 authorized an appropriation of \$2.25 billion during fiscal 1972 and 1973. In its first year it is expected to provide 145,000 transitional public service jobs for unemployed persons.

#### WORK-INCENTIVE PROGRAM

The increase in the cost of welfare which took place in the 1960s gave Congress and two successive administrations considerable concern about how to deal with this target group. A work-incentive program was tacked onto the Social Security Act of 1967. This program took the form of CEP in structural design. It serves as an entire manpower system with components which can have some variation depending upon individual and community needs. Yet because of the nature of the welfare system and the history of the program, HEW and DOL involvement was deemed necessary at both the state and the local level. This has contributed to the difficulties inherent in running that program. As part of the present Administration's proposed overhaul of the welfare system, contained in H.R.1, there would be a clear division between the two agencies' responsibilities. That bill contains a number of punitive aspects concerning work registration which have already been enacted into the Work-Incentive program (WIN) by the Talmadge amendments of December, 1971. It seems clear that one of the principal efforts of the Congress and the Administration in the decade of the 1970s will be to make the process of receiving welfare more difficult, uncomfortable, and unattractive. Manpower service systems can be bent to that purpose by a government so oriented. Both the "hard" (skill training, testing, basic education) services and the "soft" ones (counseling, work experience), it is believed, can become the means to the end of making the earliest possible job placement of welfare recipients. This is a far cry from the earlier and more rigidly defined use of training, which had to be directly related to a job (under the Area Redevelopment Act, for



example). Now the earliest possible job is the goal, whether or not it pays the minimum wage.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR FAMILIES PROGRAM

Building on the WIN and CEP experiences, it seems that the new H.R.1 manpower component, the Opportunities for Families program, will be constructed as a separate and complete system. We seem to be moving more solidly toward a tailoring of manpower systems to particular target groups and moving away from a single, over-all synergistic system which can accommodate a variety of needs.

#### TECHNOLOGY MOBILIZATION REEMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Illustrative of this trend is the Administration's expressed special concern for unemployed scientists, engineers, and veterans. The problem these groups represent is not viewed proportionately. No one has asked, "Are they in poverty? If so, what proportion of the poor do they represent?" Veterans, scientists, and engineers have appeared on the market in large numbers, and since they vote, and are politically vocal, and have special interest groups who lobby on their behalf, therefore their needs must be dealt with. The response has been an ill-conceived addition to the manpower strategies which have been hastily shipped out to the field during the fiscal year—the Technology Mobilization Reemployment program. This program provides grants for institutional and on-the-job training programs, job search and relocation grants—an expensive array, much of which will go unused or, we can hope, be reprogrammed to help the poor before it lapses.

The veterans program gives absolute preference to Vietnam era veterans (which includes retiring colonels and generals who last saw action in the Second World War and Korea). However, many of these programs, by regulation, require that enrollees meet the criteria for the economically disadvantaged, which many veterans cannot do; consequently, a new era of confusion and "priorities on priorities" has resulted.



My point here is that we may be seeing a return to a fragmentation of the universe of need for manpower training and a further fragmentation in the use of scarce resources after a concerted attempt to develop the broadest possible "comprehensive" system. The moves have culminated in a separate welfare manpower system and another manpower system (complete with separate, better funded pockets for those who have earned a political priority). In this trend, I fear again that the voice of the poor and the economically powerless, only recently discovered, will be drowned out by the *arrivistes*. This is probably typical of periods of general depression when all classes in our classless society suffer some deprivation. Privileges and prerequisites are exercised on all sides.

#### ILLUSIONS

Although hindsight may give us somewhat more perspective, it seems evident that a series of misconceptions about the need for manpower training and related services has led us, over the years, to develop a policy toward the use of training as a remedy which always seems to be just slightly "out of sync." First, the solution to uneven economic development was presumed to lie in attracting new industries to depressed areas and using the enticement of workers training at federal expense to go with the economic development loan or grant. Demand proved to be too weak to accomplish anything on a large scale with that approach. Then the need to train technologically displaced workers proved to be an illusion, and attention finally turned toward the poor and the minority groups that made up that group. It rapidly became evident, however, that the poor required much more than simple skill training because their education and other job market preparation were inadequate and because the economic environment was hostile to many of them, particularly to minorities and the elderly. They had to lose time from training to attend to medical needs in unresponsive public health facilities. Their transportation needs were unheeded, and child care arrangements constantly failed. Manpower programs took cautious steps toward testing small programs in upgrading to pro-

vide occupational mobility, broadening the scope of their programs to include basic education, child care, and other resources until they were well beyond the original labor exchange role envisioned for institutions like the state employment service. New systems were created through the CEP and WIN programs. The concept of the employability plan and the employability development team were brought to a level of acceptability in these new systems. The multidisciplinary of a case-carrying team in these limited-access programs enabled the staff to plot the individual trainees' progress through the maze of preparation, social and environmental manipulation necessary for success in today's job market. The availability of this kind of staff support makes it possible also to follow the enrollee through the early days of his placement on the job.

The work of national organizations like the Urban League, which carried its long-term commitment to opening the job market place for blacks to a systematic approach to training and placement which included environmental manipulators, demonstrates important thrusts for manpower training planners and poverty warriors alike.

As it became obvious that poverty "problems" were not discrete or amenable to resolution through training alone, manpower programs reached the point in the fiscal year 1971 at which no program devoted more than 30 percent of its expenditures to actual skill training.<sup>1</sup> As the problems become more pervasive, the need for results more pressing, the trend seems to be reversing itself back to a focus on specific target groups and the more rapid movement of persons into jobs, any jobs, and turning away from a focus on the general poor to a thrust toward those on welfare (including the working poor). The punitive approach that lurks poorly hidden in the background as this program moves through Congress unmasks some of the feeling that surfaced in the early 1960s toward the poor, namely, that they are there because of their own inadequacies, and why should the

<sup>1</sup> Office of Management and Budget, *Federal Manpower Programs*, reprint of pp. 136-52 from *Special Analyses*, Budget of U. S. Government, 1973, January, 1972, table J-10, "Distribution of Costs by Approach in 1971" (in percent).

honest taxpayer be saddled with the cost of their subsistence unless they are willing to work? This absolutely slavish adoration of the work ethic that is espoused by some Congressmen is one of the great inconsistencies of our society and represents a vicious, regressive return to the past. We may create massive public service employment simply to be sure that all able-bodied persons work for the purpose of appearing comparable to the overburdened taxpayer. Meanwhile, that same taxpayer pays an inordinate amount to finance the extra costs of child care arrangements, including the construction of centers, the administrative costs of developing public jobs, and so on, just to preserve the illusion that work is itself the basic reward in our society and must come above all else.

The approach we have taken toward manpower training as a solution to poverty has been to oversell a concept and a series of programs as a balm to society's conscience, meanwhile permitting the problem of inequitable treatment of racial minorities, women, the elderly, and the working poor to be compounded. As is frequently the case in national social programs, there is rarely an opportunity fully to test a concept before a new one takes its place in popularity. There is also never enough money to realize the economies of scale in social programs because here we only try small experiments, unlike the saturation concept employed in defense or space explorations. When we mount a program that has an average enrollment duration of one year per participant and it is funded to accommodate one tenth of the need, how can we be surprised when it fails to eliminate poverty or reduce unemployment or accomplish some of the other impossible tasks set for it?

The simple conclusion one must draw from the history of manpower training and our halting, insincere efforts to eliminate poverty is obvious. Manpower training is not a solution to poverty. Perhaps such training as a part of a comprehensive, well-planned, fully financed, locally designed program including private sector economic development, public employment in real jobs at competitive wages, vocational basic and continuing education services supported realistically by honest and ample

social, transportation, and day care opportunities under local control actually can begin to solve the problem of poverty. Such a program would need to be designed to protect the identity, the dignity, and the self-interest of all citizens, with special emphasis on eliminating racism and sexism as barriers to open and successful participation. It would also need to be backed up by a simple and logical national income-maintenance program.

Unfortunately, the social welfare community generally and the social work profession particularly have not given manpower training and the opportunity it presents any significant attention. In point of fact, our concern with poverty appears to have been largely self-centered and noneconomic. Perhaps now that it is clear that we have failed and the "manpower trainers" have failed, we can both get together with the community and do the job without contradiction.

# *Economic Consequences of Low IQ*

MARSHALL B. JONES

AT A TIME WHEN PEOPLE have already been forced to recognize many forms of discrimination and oppression, calling attention to still another one may seem excessive. Nevertheless, it is the nature of discrimination that it is always serious, wherever and whenever it occurs. As I use the term, "discrimination" means the denial of education, jobs, income, social standing, or other worldly goods for no defensible reason, solely because the individual or group at issue is judged to be unworthy, somewhat less human than other people. It is in this very strong sense of the word that I say people with low IQ and poor school performance are discriminated against in America today. Most of the time there is *no* reason commanding our respect why these people should live shorter, nastier, or more painful lives than the rest of us.

I should also point out that this variety of discrimination is not uncommon. By "low IQ" I mean what is usually called "borderline retardation," that is, people with IQs between 70 and 85, a range just above the traditional cut-off for retardation at IQ equals 70. In the schools, children with low IQ are usually assigned to special-education classes or slow tracks. If they are in the same building as other children, it is usually in a classroom distinctly removed from the center of activities. In any case, low IQ encompasses a large number of people, roughly 13.5 percent of the population or some thirty million people. Everyone recognizes that people with low IQ gravitate toward the bottom of society. The questions we need to ask are: Why? Can the reasons be justified?

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The question we have raised concerns the consequences, not the causes of low IQ. For decades now psychologists have been arguing over the relative roles of heredity and environment in the determination of IQ. In the 1930s the struggle was particularly intense; then, with the coming of Nazism and the Second World War the two sides disengaged; now, the argument is flaring up all over again. In the meantime much less work has been done on the consequences of low IQ. It took a major (and very recent) study to establish that high school dropouts are more often scholastic than motivational failures, that they leave school because it is unrewarding and often humiliating for them to stay.<sup>1</sup> Young people who smoke at an early age are concentrated out of all proportion in slow tracks at school.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of adolescents who become deeply involved with drugs.<sup>3</sup> But which comes first, the school failure or the smoking and drug abuse? At this point we do not know, because the necessary work has not been done; and one reason it has not is our preoccupation with causes. It has been taken largely for granted that dull students come to no good end. Hardly anyone has asked how it happens that doing badly in school leads to low socioeconomic status and other misfortunes in later life.

Whatever its causes, low IQ is an intractable though somewhat mutable condition. Many studies have shown substantial improvements in IQ resulting from one kind of intervention or another; but these improvements decrease with both the age of the child and the quality of the environment from which he comes. Even when the children are young and heavily disadvantaged, the gains resulting from intensive intervention are rarely dramatic and generally not large, on the order of 5 to 10 points.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jerald G. Bachman, Swayzer Green, and Ilona D. Wirtanen, *Dropping Out—Problem or Symptom?* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, 1971).

<sup>2</sup> Charles M. Boyle, "Some Factors Affecting the Smoking Habits of a Group of Teenagers," *Lancet*, II (1968), 1287–89; Eva J. Salber, Brian MacMahon, and Barbara Welsch, "Smoking Habits of High School Students Related to Intelligence and Achievement," *Pediatrics*, XXIX (1962), 780–87.

<sup>3</sup> R. G. Smart and Diane Fejer, "Recent Trends in Illicit Drug Use among Adolescents," *Canada's Mental Health*, Supplement No. 68, 1971, pp. 1–13.

<sup>4</sup> Rick Heber, "Research on Education and Habilitation of the Mentally Retarded." Conference on Sociocultural Aspects of Mental Retardation, Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn., 1968.

And even these relatively modest gains are not won easily. Every attempt to show that low IQ or poor school performance are superficial variations has failed. Rosenthal's argument that IQ reflects little more than teacher expectations is a recent effort along this line—and one of the more resounding failures.<sup>5</sup> The best predictor of future ability in schoolwork and closely related activities is present school performance;<sup>6</sup> and by early adolescence the mold has pretty well set. Whatever the ultimate reasons may have been, an adolescent with low IQ is not likely ever to do well in school or show any appreciable improvement in test performance.

I want to make clear that "low IQ" is not a euphemism. I am not talking about black people, Spanish-speaking Americans, or any other ethnic minority. Though in different proportions, people with low IQ occur in all segments of the population; and much of the time they have additional problems stemming from their group membership. Here, however, I am concerned only with low IQ. If it helps to make the point clearer, we may think of the person with low IQ as a white male.

Let us return now to the central argument. The association of IQ with social class is a consistent finding. Managerial and professional men have IQs around 130, whereas unskilled laborers and dependents have IQs in the upper third of the borderline range, that is, from 80 to 85.<sup>7</sup> It is now clear, moreover, that this effect is brought about almost entirely through education;<sup>8</sup> that is, low IQ leads to abbreviated education which, in its turn, leads to low occupational status. To put the same matter negatively, IQ has no effect on occupation and only a relatively small effect on income among men with the same educational back-

<sup>5</sup> Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968); Richard E. Snow, "Unfinished Pygmalion," *Contemporary Psychology*, XIV (1969), 197-99.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin S. Bloom, *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964).

<sup>7</sup> Cyril Burt, "Intelligence and Social Mobility," *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, XIV (1961), 3-23.

<sup>8</sup> Otis D. Duncan, David L. Featherman, and Beverly Duncan, *Socioeconomic Background and Occupational Achievement: Extensions of a Basic Model*. Final report, Project No. 5-0074 (EO-191), U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1968.



ground. If a boy has low IQ, he does poorly in school; and it is this fact that leads to his low occupational and social status as a man.

We arrive, then, at the question with which we began. Why do people with poor educational records tend to get the least rewarding jobs or, worse, no jobs at all? It could be, of course, that they lack the abilities technological America requires, that they simply cannot do the jobs, or only a very few of them. It turns out, however, that this explanation will not pass muster.

Between 1937 and 1941 the U.S. Employment Service (USES) analyzed 7,955 occupations in 87 industries with respect to what they required of a worker by way of education, training, abilities, and other personal qualities.<sup>9</sup> The results showed that 58 percent of the jobs required no formal education at all other than the ability to read, write, and speak English. Another 17 percent required some but only a little schooling. Only 25 percent of the jobs required a man to have completed grammar school; only 11 percent required him to have completed high school; a negligible one percent required a college degree. Sixty-eight percent of the jobs required a week's training on the job or less; another 28 percent required between a week and six months of training; only 4 percent required more than six months training on the job.

In the USES study each job was evaluated as to whether or not it required a level of ability possessed by 30 percent or less of the population. Under this convention, only 10 percent of the jobs required "intelligence"; that is, only 10 percent of the jobs required as much intelligence as is possessed by the top 30 percent of the population. Other relevant figures included:

	<i>Percent</i>
Arithmetical computation	8
Ability to make decisions	7
Initiative	7
Oral expression	2
Written expression	1

<sup>9</sup> Carroll L. Shartle, *Occupational Information* (2d ed.; New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952).

High ability, that is, as much as is possessed by the most able 30 percent of the population, is no consideration at all for more than 90 percent of the jobs. These figures leave no doubt that, thirty years ago at any rate, people with low IQ and little schooling could do at least three quarters of the jobs in the economy. Nor has anything happened in the interim radically to change this picture.

In 1955 USES carried out another extensive study of job requirements, this one involving 4,000 representative jobs.<sup>10</sup> The results were only a little different. Sixty-five percent of the jobs were rated as requiring no more than common sense, comprehension of popular magazine articles and newscasts, and the ability to make elementary arithmetical calculations. This group of jobs corresponds roughly to the bottom two categories of the 1940 study, jobs requiring little or no schooling. In the fifteen years intervening between the two studies the proportion of jobs requiring less than an eighth-grade education dropped from 75 percent to 65 percent. If this same rate of change was maintained in the seventeen years that have elapsed since the second USES study, it would still be true that most jobs in America today require less than an eighth-grade education. The fact is that people with low IQ and little schooling are fully competent to serve usefully in today's society. There is an abundance of jobs they can do.

Most people find these figures startling. It seems incredible that jobs should be so simple in a society as complex and technologically advanced as ours. What they forget is that technological advance refers to equipment, not what it takes in a human being to use it. Television sets, cars, refrigerators, and telephones are sophisticated products, but how much ability does it take to use them? Not very much. That is largely the point. The purpose of technical advance is to increase the productivity of labor; but, since "labor" in this context includes the cost of developing and maintaining itself, technical advance tends also to mean simple jobs requiring relatively little training.

<sup>10</sup> Carroll L. Shartle, *Occupational Information* (3d ed.; New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959).

These arguments suffice to show that people with low IQ can do most jobs even in an advanced industrial society. But perhaps they cannot do them as well as other people; perhaps they are less proficient on the job. Perhaps—and perhaps not. The issue hinges on the relationship between IQ and whatever criterion is adopted to measure job performance, usually a supervisor's rating. Is IQ a valid predictor of occupational performance, or isn't it? In 1966 Ghiselli surveyed the literature on the validity of aptitude tests for occupational criteria.<sup>11</sup> He found an average validity for IQ tests of .19, a very small value. He also reported average validities in twenty-one general occupational categories. In nine of these categories—salesclerks, service workers, teamsters, structural workers, processing workers, machine workers, machine tenders, bench workers, and packers—the average validity was less than .19. In these nine categories IQ and general intellectual attainments are essentially useless as predictors of performance on the job. In only two of the twenty-one categories, general and recording clerks, could the average validities, .46 and .48 respectively, be called "good." In the remaining ten categories the average validities varied between .20 and .31, a very modest range indeed. A validity of .31 accounts for less than 10 percent of the variance in job performance; a validity of .20 accounts for only 4 percent of the criterion variance. In the case of one category, executives and administrators, the test-criterion correlation may have been reduced by restriction of range; that is, people with IQs much under 100 never figured in the results. In the other categories, however, IQ varied over pretty nearly its full range, including the interval between 70 and 85.

The answer, therefore, to our question about the occupational validity of IQ tests is a slightly qualified "no." With the exception of general and recording clerks and, probably, executives and administrators, job performance does not depend on scholastic ability. In the great preponderance of jobs the abilities required in the classroom are irrelevant.

The next line of defense involves promotion. In hiring a man,

<sup>11</sup> Edwin E. Ghiselli, *The Validity of Occupational Aptitude Tests* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

the argument goes, a company has the right to consider his potential for development; a man who has good promotional prospects should be preferred over one who does not have them. The implication is that, while education and IQ may not predict performance at the entry level, they do predict performance on jobs further along in the promotional sequence. Enneis has called this argument "the chairman-of-the-board syndrome" and described it as "one of the most pernicious in the entire American industrial system."<sup>12</sup> What makes it so pernicious is not just the impact it has on minority groups and people with low IQ but its falsity. First, only a small fraction of the men being considered for entry-level positions will ever be promoted even to middle management. For the remaining 90 percent or more, the imposition of middle-management criteria is irrelevant. Second, as we have just seen, IQ tests and other scholastic measures are inadequate predictors of managerial performance. In the Ghiselli survey the average validity for foremen's positions was .25. In short, even if it made sense to select men on the basis of ultimate performance, the tests currently being used do not do it. Third, and most devastating of all, there exists a better way to predict how well a man will do in the next job up the occupational ladder, namely, how well he is doing on the job he now has. Promotion is subject to the same regularities as all other personnel phenomena. The best predictive basis is the one nearest in kind and time to the criterion behaviors. When a man applies for a job, he should be evaluated in terms of the first job he will hold. Once he gets on board, how well he does what he is doing becomes the best basis for promotion.

At this point, the defense abandons arguments based on job performance and starts talking about personality and moral qualities. It is said that people with good educational records have proved their ability to persist at a job, to persevere and win out in the end. Therefore, the conclusion is, they should be given the job before other people who have not proved their worth (a most illuminating phrase). In order for this argument

<sup>12</sup> William H. Enneis, "The Black Man in the World of Work," *Professional Psychology*, I (1970), 436.

to hold water, it would be necessary to show: (1) that there exists a transsituational personal quality that could be called perseverance; (2) that people with good educational records have more of it than other people; and (3) that perseverance bears an important relation to performance on the job at issue. All of these conditions are doubtful in the extreme.

Perseverance or the "will function," was one of the first personality traits that psychologists attempted to measure; they tried and tried, but without success. It seems that a man may persist in one area but not in others. The persistent student is not likely to be any more persistent on the job than the next man.

The second condition has a distinctly religious flavor. It reminds one of Calvinistic arguments about the equivalence of moral worth and worldly success. It does not take much effort for a boy who is good at schoolwork to get through college; no more effort, at least, than it would take to do many other things. It is likely, for example, that a boy would have to try just as hard to become a district wrestling champion as to graduate from high school. But how often does it happen that a young man is asked, when applying for a job, what he has done by way of athletic achievement? In the case of people with low IQ it would not help anyway, because students who get bad grades are not generally permitted to go out for sports.

The third condition is also problematic. In his survey Ghiselli found that personality tests were even less successful than IQ and ability tests in predicting occupational performance. So even if perseverance existed as a general trait and could be measured, there is no precedent at present for expecting it to predict job performance.

In any case, all three conditions cannot be true. If perseverance existed, and educated people had more than their share of it, and many jobs required it, then IQ would predict occupational performance; and we know that it does not.

The last line of defense is almost vindictive. It is said that people with low IQ are unreliable and antisocial, that they get into fights and become alcoholic more often than other people.

As a matter of raw epidemiological fact, this is true, though the extent of these behaviors is easily exaggerated. But whose fault is it? Sooner or later, those who defend discrimination always advance the consequences of what they do as justification for doing it. Why do some people with low IQ become antisocial? Is it because of some inherent connection? Or is it that doing poorly in school becomes so painful that, finally, in a last-ditch effort to win some sort of recognition a boy does something stupid and, having done it, finds himself on a downward spiraling staircase? The latter possibility does not require that all antisocial behavior have its roots in low IQ or poor school performance. It does not mean that other people and, in proportion, some people with low IQ may not get into trouble for other reasons. All the hypothesis says is that poor students have additional reasons for antisocial behavior, namely, the destructive effects on their self-regard of being treated with disrespect and contempt at school.<sup>13</sup> Under this interpretation, the fault is largely society's. If poor students were not made to feel so inadequate, if they were given another way to go and not just down, they would not need to act out as a means of securing recognition.

The situation facing the poor student is extreme. By junior high school he knows that his chances for socioeconomic success are small. He also knows or senses the general character of his problem. It is not as if he had failed in one thing but could still try in others. A judgment has been passed on him as a person, not on what he can do. His teachers, even those who are sympathetic, treat him with condescension. His peers call him a "sped."

Wherever he goes in the future, whether in school or afterward, the boy or man with low IQ faces two great obstacles: educational requirements and psychological tests. However irrelevant a high school diploma may be, the man with low IQ does not have one; so he does not get the job, except possibly when labor is in short supply. Employers have a way of dropping their "standards" when they need labor—and the wonder of it is that

<sup>13</sup> Martin Gold and David Mann, "Delinquency as Defense," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XLI (1972), 463-79.



they lose nothing in worker effectiveness by doing so. When labor is plentiful, the work force is "upgraded," its tone is improved. For the man with low IQ this upgrading means not getting the job or, possibly, getting fired. It cannot be repeated too often. People with low IQ suffer from specific disabilities, centering in schoolwork and closely related activities. But socially, in the eyes of other people, the credentials they lack are general; the disqualification they experience is *personal*.

In the last thirty years psychological tests have become a major modality for all forms of discrimination, and understandably so. Psychological tests are supposed to be scientific instruments; they are never overtly discriminatory and always provide a rationale for whatever personnel decisions are made. For these same reasons, the use of psychological tests in personnel selection and classification deserves careful scrutiny. We already know that these tests have little or no validity for occupational proficiency. Hence, using them in personnel work is grossly discriminatory against people with low IQ. To this general picture I shall add a number of specific points.

1. Psychological tests are used extensively in personnel work, particularly in the federal government and large-scale corporate organizations.

2. Tests of general scholastic ability, so-called "intelligence tests," are much the most commonly used kind of test, though tests of special abilities—spatial, mechanical, or perceptual, for example,—are widely used. Unfortunately, to people with low IQ this distinction makes only a quantitative difference because the special-ability tests, while they are somewhat distinct, generally show strong correlations with IQ tests.

3. Most firms that use psychological tests have never checked them out against performance on *their* jobs.<sup>14</sup> The test is used because the company or personnel manager is sold on it. No one knows whether or not it predicts performance on the jobs for

<sup>14</sup> Phyllis P. Wallace, Beverly Kissinger, and Betty Reynolds, "Testing of Minority Group Applicants for Employment," in B. R. Anderson and M. P. Rogers, eds., *Personnel Testing and Equal Employment Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1970), pp. 1-15.



which it is being used. In all likelihood, however, test validity in these cases is worse than in those situations where validity studies have been carried out. Small though they are, the average validities I quoted earlier are probably high.

Another consideration that points in the same direction is criterion contamination. In his survey of occupational validities, Ghiselli accepted whatever criterion the company or investigating psychologist used. It is well-known, however, that many measures of job performance, supervisors' ratings in particular, are likely to be affected by other things than what the man actually does on the job. And nothing extraneous is more likely to creep into these ratings than social class and educational background. Whenever this happens, the test-criterion correlation is artificially inflated. The test predicts, certainly; but it predicts the supervisor's bias rather than the worker's proficiency.

My last point is the most discouraging of all. Even when the tests bear an authentic relationship to authentic criterion behaviors, they still discriminate against people with low IQ. Suppose, for example, that an IQ test has a bona fide predictive validity of .20. This means that, as a group, men with low IQ do slightly worse on the job than other men. It might mean, for example, that where 70 percent of the men with higher IQs are "satisfactory," according to some on-the-job criterion, only 60 percent of the men with low IQs are. However, if IQ is used for selection and there are enough men with higher IQs to fill the vacancies, then none of the men with low IQ will be hired. As a group, the men with low IQ are totally excluded, even though 60 percent of them would have done satisfactory work and 30 percent of the men preferred over them will not. A small difference in criterion performance becomes totally exclusionary at the point of selection.

Of course, some group is always excluded in every selection process; and to some degree this exclusion is always unfair. What makes the existing situation so bitter is that the excluded group is always the same; it is always the men with low IQ and poor school performance who are excluded. Even when the selection instrument is not an IQ test, the effect is similar be-

cause all ability tests correlate positively with IQ and usually in substantial measure. As a group, men with low IQ do much worse on the tests than they do on the job. Therefore, when the tests are used in selection, men with low IQ are excluded to an extent far exceeding any small deficits they might show in on-the-job performance.

What, then, can be done? What would it take to give people with low IQ a fair break in employment? Far more, unfortunately, than seems at all likely. The first fact that needs to be faced is the great difficulty of making any advance on this front. It is illegal under existing law to discriminate against anyone because of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. But there is no law that says it is illegal to discriminate against a man because of social class, poor school performance, or low IQ. In addition, the Tower Amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically authorizes the use for employment purposes of "any professionally developed ability test," provided the test is not intended to discriminate in any of the currently prohibited ways. At present there is no legal basis for moving against the kinds of discrimination we have been considering, and the prospects of their being one in the foreseeable future are remote. Ours is a class society. We take it for granted that people will be sorted out into a hierarchy of material and social advantage or disadvantage; and the rationale we advance for doing so centers in the idea of ability. It is ability, we say, or the lack of it that justifies differential location in the socioeconomic hierarchy. Of course, the abilities in question do not have to be school abilities, and fifty or a hundred years ago they were not. In those days the ability to make money, work a farm, or run a business mattered much more than it does today. But it is central to the American way of life that there be a bottom to the social heap and that people who lack certain critical abilities end up there. In recent decades these critical abilities have tended to be more and more scholastic in character.

Suppose for the moment that these problems had somehow been solved. What would be required to bring justice to people who do badly at school? For one thing, it would be necessary to

ban IQ tests as the prime instrument of selection in any employment situation. For another, and rather paradoxically, it would be necessary to give IQ tests in all employment situations. The prime selection instrument would be some other kind of test. But the statistical requirements of fairness include correcting the prime test for its association with IQ; and the only way to do that is to give the IQ test too. In any case, personnel selection can be done fairly. Whether or not it ever will be is another and much larger question.

# *Women's Issues in Social Welfare*

*LEATRICE HAUPTMAN, JANET  
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AS THE THEME of the 1972 Annual Forum implies, ours is a closed society, one in which barriers based on class, race, and sex have maintained a stratified and segregated system whose highest rewards are shared by only a few. In order to justify and maintain these inequalities, various myths, beliefs, and stereotypes have been created and perpetuated.

Since the beginning of the civil rights movement in the early 1960s, many groups have risen up in the struggle for a decent life in an affluent society. Various groups from ethnic minorities in America, young people, gay people, welfare recipients, and women are documenting the discrimination against them, challenging the generally accepted beliefs and myths which have kept them powerless, and are uniting to secure fuller participation in economic, political, and social life. With awareness of their oppression and through contact with others through organization, these groups are striving for liberation from the constraints that have bound them. We see the women's movement as part of the larger movement committed to an even distribution of economic, political, and social power, privileges, and rewards. As women aware of our own powerlessness, we support

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the struggles of other groups working for liberation and join with them in seeking what is rightfully ours.

In the last several years, the women's movement has begun to expose the exploitative use that has been made of myths about women—essentially, that a woman is a compassionate and tender creature whose prime function in life (said to be biologically determined) is the nurturing of others; that a woman can find fulfillment only through raising and rearing a family and in meeting the emotional needs of others; that a woman in her caretaker role enjoys dependency and passivity. "Implicit in the role that derives from this notion is the virtue of subordinating individual needs to the welfare of others."<sup>1</sup> Women have not been encouraged to venture out of this narrow role, nor are they rewarded when they do so. When, due to economic necessity, women do venture out of the home, they obtain the least desirable and worst paid jobs. For the povertystricken mother, there is a double bind: since she has no other means for caring for her children, she must fulfill the caretaker's role and is at the same time penalized both economically and socially for her dependence on welfare programs.

Even when women, married or single, do enter the professional arena, they are most often found in the so-called "helping professions." The large number of women in nursing, social work, library science, and teaching is not accidental. Precisely because these professions are considered emotional, instinctual, nonintellectual, and noncompetitive, they also afford low prestige and comparatively low salaries in our success- and achievement-oriented society and are thus considered suitable careers for women. Therefore, it has been these professions *only* which have accepted women in large numbers, and in which, until recently, women have had a deciding voice.

#### SEX DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

In recent years, a changing orientation and concern have been developing in many of the helping professions. Social work and

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Adams, "The Compassion Trap," *Psychology Today*, July, 1970, p. 100.

social welfare now are concerned as much about macrostrategies directed at bringing about changes in the larger social system as they are about direct services to individuals and small groups. It is becoming increasingly evident that compassion and tenderness (even when accompanied by solid grounding in psychological theory) are necessary but not sufficient factors in responding to the urgent needs of contemporary problems.

As our profession changes, as efforts are made to develop its strategies, to raise its status, and to develop more power, we can see a shift in the number of men in the field—a positive, pluralistic expansion; however, these men increasingly are filling most administrative positions (including deanships and tenured faculty) in schools of social work, and are the majority of graduate students within the doctoral programs which are usually prerequisites for these positions. (Out of the eighty-one schools of social work, there are only seven with women deans; two schools have acting deans who are women.) We believe that women are neither encouraged to apply for these positions nor sought after when such positions are being filled. As these changes take place within our profession, and as men gain increasing dominance within it, women will find themselves, often with their own acquiescence, becoming unnecessary to the central decision-making processes in social welfare. Unless women in the field become aware of these changes and rise up to secure their fair share in the profession's decision-making process, our profession will soon reflect the male-dominant characteristic of the larger society.

Women must come to believe themselves competent to fill the administrative positions being taken over by men, and must gear themselves and encourage each other to take on such positions—with salaries commensurate with their responsibilities. At present, social welfare is a field of unequal pay for equal work. The median salary for men supervisors is \$1,600 higher than for women. Twice as many men as women earn salaries in excess of \$10,000. Executive directors of most major social welfare organizations (voluntary) are men. In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), men cover 85 + percent of the salary

positions; the salary pyramid is in reverse for women (90 percent are in the lower grade levels).

We assert that our major goal is not to assume the male-dominant role. There is *nothing* to be gained by changing the sex of the oppressor. Indeed, what we are struggling for is an open society where oppressor-oppressed relationships no longer exist, where barriers to self-determination based on class, race, and sex are obliterated. As long as women are unaware of, and unconcerned with, their powerlessness, as long as they remain in the "compassion trap" without awareness of new movements and shifts, and as long as "emotional manipulation distorts women's vision and creates the illusion that they are making an adequate, however valuable, contribution to society's well-being,"<sup>2</sup> we will be unable to join the larger struggle for equality and justice. For if we cannot free ourselves, we cannot free others.

The values of the social work profession and the field of social welfare are based on the worth and dignity of the individual and are concerned with human needs. Yet, social work education, social work agencies, foundations and their boards, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), and government and public planning agencies are as discriminatory toward women as is the larger society. NASW, with two thirds of its membership made up of women, never has had an elected woman president. Less than one third of the board members are women. That such discrimination cease is morally imperative. That such discrimination be remedied is legally mandatory.

Our urgent request is simple. It is that the social work profession see to it that women in social work, those entering the profession, and *all women touched by social welfare institutions and social services* be afforded their fair share in the profession's power and policy-making structure. Only after this is done can the profession address itself to the discriminatory practices of the larger society with any integrity.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.



## SEX DISCRIMINATION IN SOCIAL WELFARE EDUCATION

It is our contention that educational systems as a whole gear students to accept established systems instead of encouraging them to question and to innovate change. Educational systems gear women toward seeking socially acceptable female roles and careers. Professional schools tend to accept prescribed roles as structured by the society at large as well as accepting all of the implications. Social work schools, in particular, often see the personal educational needs of their students as irrelevant to the core curriculum. The majority of the social work schools' students being female, the approach of many schools to women and women's issues is denigrating to female students as well as irresponsible to those served by social work agencies. Therefore, students, social workers, and social work institutions have a responsibility to reassess their roles.

Educational practice can no longer be allowed to track female students into caretaker-therapist roles as opposed to administration, teaching, research, and community development and planning positions.

Females no longer should be tracked out of doctoral programs through counseling, admission procedures, and plays upon their own fears that they are not capable.

Women's student and faculty groups must become concerned, policy-monitoring majority caucuses within their schools. They should monitor institutional and curricula practices as they apply to women on all levels within the schools of social work and within affiliated field agencies. In terms of social welfare, there should be courses or course components that deal with the issues of women's rights and changing social roles.

Social welfare issues face women today:

## ECONOMIC

*Welfare.* A recent news release from HEW reveals that in 1971, 10.7 million people received financial aid through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, the largest categorical assistance program in the United States. Ninety-nine

percent of the families in this category are headed by women. These statistics help to point out the extent to which welfare can be considered a woman's issue. Women are disproportionately involved in the welfare system not only as clients, but also as social workers, helping to maintain a system which is personally degrading, financially inadequate, and blatantly discriminatory.

Criticism can validly be made today of almost every aspect of the welfare system. Particularly relevant is the fact that it denies to woman recipients two basic rights: the right to receive an adequate income and the right to earn a decent wage, if they so desire. It is a system which tells women it is wrong to be financially dependent, but which reinforces those roles which are traditionally dependent ones and fails to create viable alternatives. Underlying the AFDC program is a remnant of the poor law mentality which assumes that those who are poor are also morally degenerate and probably deserving of their status, or so dependent that society must care for them—but not adequately.

Though the state may assume the responsibility of saving these people and their children from utter destitution, procedures for the distribution of aid are punitive, and the level of aid is far below levels at which people can be expected to live decently. A person who received AFDC payments must submit to an endless filling out of forms, questioning, and investigation and must give up privacy and much control over her own life in return for a monthly check. The amount of this check varies from grossly inadequate (\$60 a month in Mississippi) to just inadequate (about \$350 a month in New York and New Jersey where the standard of living is proportionately higher). The President's Commission on Income Maintenance reported in 1969 that "this program (AFDC), more than any others, suffers from inadequate levels." <sup>3</sup>

Most welfare critics have been content to react to those negative aspects of the welfare system, the inadequacy of benefits, and the denial of the right to assistance without a loss of dignity and

<sup>3</sup> The President's Commission on Income Maintenance, *Background Papers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

control over one's life. Yet welfare critics must realize, too, that a latent function of welfare, reflecting the general social attitudes of society, is to enforce the female roles of economic and social dependence, while at the same time regulating the labor market (which does not have enough work at decent pay for all who seek it) and to prevent uprisings of poor people. This is reflected in the emphasis and wording of legislation and regulations pertaining to the AFDC program, and in the nature of training and employment programs. Contradictorily, at the same time that the public policy-makers characterize homemaker and child caretaker as the most appropriate female roles, they promote coercive policies to take the mother out of the home and put her to work.

Because these women are not seen as having an important place in the job market, they are tracked into dead-end, underpaid jobs by welfare rehabilitation programs. In any program in which men are also involved, such as the Work Incentive program (WIN) or the new joint Vocational Rehabilitation Public Assistance programs, the men have an undisputed advantage. They are given referral priority, are employed in a wider range of jobs, and end up with a higher salary (the median income of employed WIN participants is \$2.47 per hour for men *vs.* \$2.02 per hour for women).

The employment provisions of the original Family Assistance Plan (FAP) proposals offered no better opportunities for women, no meaningful public service jobs or new careers program for those whose lack of skill and education denied them entrance into the labor market. The latest version of FAP which has emerged from the Senate Finance Committee is even worse, adopting an extremely coercive work requirement and establishing a federal employment corporation which would not create meaningful job opportunities but would hire people as a last resort for \$1.20 per hour (below the minimum wage) and then channel them into whatever dirty jobs—domestic, dishwasher, and so forth—might be available. Thus, at the same time that the welfare system punishes the woman for being a welfare receiver, it offers her no opportunity to become a real achiever

and reinforces the employment biases which exist in society in general. In addition, the working-class poor, many of whom earn less than poverty-level wages, include a disproportionate number of families (37 percent of poor working-class families are headed by women), whereas the number of families headed by women in the society as a whole constitute only 11 percent.<sup>4</sup> Poverty, in all aspects, appears to be not only a social issue, but a feminist one as well.

The system itself is bad, and hopes for immediate reform are dim. Immediate action should be channeled in two directions:

1. The aggressive informational efforts of groups like the National Welfare Rights Organization must be supported. Every person eligible for assistance should be getting it as a right and should be getting the entire amount to which she is entitled. Social workers could assist in this process by referring welfare recipients to local welfare rights organizations, and where local groups do not exist, help those on aid to form one.

2. FAP, especially in its latest form, must be defeated. Although there were several positive ideas in the original proposal (a guaranteed minimum income and coverage of the working poor) which were financially inadequate but theoretically sound, these have been taken out, and there are no longer any redeeming features. Long-range efforts must be directed toward provision of a guaranteed annual income for all citizens at a level adequate to assure a decent standard of living. If standards set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics establish that a family of four should have at least \$6,500 per year in order to live at a minimum adequate standard of decency, then *no* family in America should live on less, be they fully employed, or welfare recipients. Coercive work requirements should be dropped and replaced by the creation of meaningful employment opportunities for everyone. Opportunities for women must be financially equal to those offered to men, with adequate provision for training and child care. The concept of work must be redefined: those who contribute to society through caring for their children, developing new

<sup>4</sup>"Facts on the American Family in Poverty," U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, 1971.

life styles, and following creative pursuits, or politics, or whatever, should be subsidized for their endeavors.

*Day care.* As of July, 1969, there were 22 million children aged five and under in the United States. In 1969 there were 4.5 million children under five with mothers in the labor force, and it has been estimated that day care in licensed centers and family homes is available for only about 640,000 children nationally. It has been estimated, also, that those who need these services total from eight to ten times that number, and that the need for day care will continue to increase in the years ahead. This tremendous gap between need and facilities has been a major factor in preventing women from entering the labor force; in particular, inadequate day care provisions have prevented meaningful participation by women in WIN and other employment and training programs.

The basic obstacles to an adequate comprehensive child care program in the United States are both philosophical and financial. President Nixon, in rejecting the Comprehensive Child Development Act in 1971, expressed the fears of many when he commented that wide-scale provision of child care could lead to excessive routinization and mechanization of children and could destroy the role of the family in our society. He is assuming that mothers are the best child rearers available and that any woman who puts her child in a day care center, no matter how good the center, will suffer from feelings of guilt and inadequacy. In addition, the financial resources required for adequate developmental day care are tremendous. Estimates today run between \$2,000 and \$3,000 per year per child, well beyond what most families can afford to pay. Adequate child care programs, providing high-quality developmental care to all those who want it with fees scaled to what parents could afford, would require an extensive federal financial commitment which does not now exist.

New priorities must be sought, and that can only be done by means of an intensive educational and informational campaign in order to develop the consciousness needed to bring about widespread quality day care. People must explore the advantages of day care; women must realize that they need not feel guilty or

that they are abandoning "motherhood" by leaving the home. Massive political support must be built for extensive federal involvement and funding. Interim policies can involve full exploitation of present funding sources (Title IV A of the Social Security amendments), exploration and experimentation with new forms of child care (cooperatives, home care systems). Pressure must be put on employers to provide high-quality child care such as is universally available in a few other countries.

#### MEDICAL CONCERNS

We believe that health care ought to be universally available for all people on a local level under local control, but that the profit system and centralization of the medical empire tend to mitigate against the notion that health care is a human right. Specifically, as the medical system relates (or has failed to relate) to women, we believe that the medical community must give its attention to the health needs of women in the following areas:

*Obstetric and gynecological services.* The infant and maternal mortality rates in the United States are far higher than they should be, given our scientific and technological sophistication. The fact that high-quality prenatal care is not available to millions of women (mainly poor, rural, and working-class women) moves us to urge the proliferation of clinical facilities which would deliver necessary preventive medicine and primary treatment to minimize danger to both mother and child.

We urge the medical community to perform mass screening for venereal disease (women are often asymptomatic) and for breast and cervical cancer (only 12 percent of American women obtain regular Pap smears) in order to prevent the thousands of medical complaints and unnecessary deaths suffered by women yearly.

We are against the performing of unnecessary hysterectomies. We resent the fact that the male-dominated medical profession regards women's gynecological maladies as expressions of "female neuroses" rather than as valid medical complaints.

We believe that more natural and humane conditions for childbirth should be instituted. For example, pregnant women



should be given the option of delivering in their own homes, but should a woman wish to deliver in a hospital, the father of the child, a friend, or a relative ought to be permitted entry to the delivery room.

It is the task of social workers in medical facilities to press for such changes in order to extend comprehensive medical care to all women and to sensitize medical personnel to these issues. As women, we must take public stands on the need for humane and universal medical care.

*The right to control one's reproductive processes.* Religious and legal factors have limited the right of women to control their reproductive processes by contraception and abortion. We believe that all women have the right to make such decisions since women bear the children and usually must assume the responsibility for raising them.

Contraceptive information must be readily available to all women without moral judgments. The notion that a woman must be punished for accidental pregnancy in pursuit of her own pleasures must go. Those involved in the provision of contraceptive information and devices must take full responsibility for explaining the risks of the devices and must take responsibility for follow-up medical care, especially if dangerous or unexpected side effects occur. Experimentation with new methods of birth control should keep the health of women foremost in mind. Experimentation with contraceptive devices for men ought to be fully launched. Should contraceptives fail, abortion must be an available alternative to unwanted pregnancy.

The national legalization of abortion would automatically decrease the number of maternal deaths caused by unsafe, illegal abortions (poor, nonwhite women suffer 75 percent of the deaths from illegal abortions). It is not enough for physicians and social welfare personnel to refer women to states in which abortion is legal. We must join the campaign both nationwide and locally to provide free abortions on demand. At the same time, we must fight efforts of certain legislators who would force abortion and sterilization on women of poor and working-class backgrounds. We are aghast at the President's rejection of the findings of his



own Commission on Population Control which advocated the provision of universal contraceptive information and the national legalization of abortion. Recognition of the right to make individual decisions, rather than church or state control over such matters, is our goal.

*The therapeutic community's contact with women.* Psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers see more female patients and clients than male. Depression, anxiety, boredom, lack of opportunities to actualize their potential, and "sex problems" are among the reasons for which women seek therapy. Female welfare recipients, on the other hand, have social workers thrust upon them with no choice in the matter; for the welfare system is so set up that the caseworker assumes partial administrative control over decisions that affect the woman on welfare, her family, her mobility, and her opportunities. In the former case, we as social welfare professionals must examine the theoretical frameworks by which we analyze and approach the problems of women who actively seek our services. We must cease to diagnose as "ill" many of these women, whose "cure" is a prescription of tranquilizers in order to alleviate the symptoms. Rather, we must see such phenomena as individual expressions of a basic societal problem—the denial to women of opportunities for economic and psychosocial fulfillment.

We must encourage independence rather than continual dependence in female clients. We must stop "clientizing" welfare recipients—unless, of course, they voluntarily ask for counseling services—and instead actively encourage them to organize collectively in their economic self-interest. Studies have shown that welfare recipients "feel better" and "make more progress" when they have more money; there is less worry, more relaxation with the children, and greater ability to be involved in community affairs. Although we believe that many women who seek therapy do need intensive help, we also believe that a great number of women would be better helped if they were referred to women's groups. We prescribe for social welfare professionals a heavy dosage of reading and contact with the women's movement and hope that the new premises and goals put forth by women's groups will influence our "therapies."

This discussion does not exhaust our concerns, which also include the entire area of legal rights and legal institutions with which we, as women in welfare, are most concerned. However, it offers a beginning point so that women can discuss issues and implement strategies to effect major change in our social welfare "thinking," our social welfare institutions, and our own social welfare roles.

Do we support system change or system maintenance? In organizing as women in welfare are we making the appropriate linkage with other struggles for human rights? Where do we go from here?

#### OUR COMMITMENT TO EACH OTHER

Why, on local levels, should we come together?

Are we isolated individuals, or do we feel a need to support one another as women involved in, or touched by, social welfare?

Is there a need to organize specifically around the issues of women's rights and social welfare?

In which way should we support each other: by consciousness-raising; political action (organizing women on welfare, unionizing working women, organizing institutional and agency women); engaging in advocacy research; setting up institutional and agency client-advocacy systems; developing alternative services and systems?

#### COMMUNICATION

Would it be helpful to structure a network of communication with each other and with other women's groups for the exchange of ideas, information, and the support of common and shared experiences?

Should these be an informal or a formal structure?

Should communication be achieved by means of newsletters and through conferences at local, state, regional, and national levels?

## NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Is there a need for a national organization of women involved in welfare issues?

Would it be better to join efforts already functioning on women's issues and social issues as individuals or as groups?

Would a national organization be loosely structured or highly structured?

These are major areas of discussion, questions that perhaps we can ask each other. Let us listen and speak to each other.

# *Women's Rights in Social Welfare Agencies*

CORDELL H. THOMAS

THE STUDY from which most of the data presented here are drawn was originally intended to survey social workers' attitudes toward abortion.<sup>1</sup> We were curious to learn how the largest helping organization which is predominantly female, 67 percent of our sample, would view what has been cast as a matter of women's rights.<sup>2</sup> The absence of any mention of the women's rights issue at the 1971 Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare caused me to reevaluate the data in terms of the sexual organization of "helping." The data have not been completely analyzed; however, as a variable in the analysis of the structure of the helping institution, sex is both powerful and intriguing. Furthermore, it would appear that women's rights are inextricably tied to social welfare, and vice versa.

## HELPING AND SOCIAL WELFARE

While each person must somehow manage his "condition," the difficulty will vary directly with the extent of societal reaction to that "condition." Those conditions of a nature which would disrupt the normative flow may be labeled as "deviant." All societies have groups of such persons who are considered "out-

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<sup>1</sup> I extend my thanks and appreciation to the Philadelphia Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, without whose cooperation this data could never have been collected, and to Joel Gerstl, who encouraged me to pursue this area of study.

<sup>2</sup> Joel Gerstl, "Counseling and Psychotherapy Today," in Donald Hansen, ed., *Explorations in Sociology and Counseling* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), pp. 1-23.

siders."<sup>3</sup> Some of these victims are eventually seen as societal problems and are helped.<sup>4</sup> In addition, it is clear that the helping is not based on the presence or absence of a condition or of the suffering which it brings to the individual; rather, it is based on what is best for society.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, social welfare and the helping it implies are only incidentally directed at the individual.<sup>6</sup> Helping is a means of pattern maintenance.<sup>7</sup> We do not wish to devalue the relief of suffering, poverty, handicap, or other conditions through being helped. Our point is to establish the relationship between helping and societal welfare.

#### THE SEXUAL ORGANIZATION OF HELPING

Data from our sample will be presented in two ways: (a) cohorts, or roles within the system (client, worker, and so on); and (b) the encounter levels (worker, client). The table below quickly sets forth the model. Arrows indicate the direction of dominance.

Level I, or the front line, is the turf for the encounter between the client and worker cohorts. The client (a victim of his

LEVELS OF ENCOUNTER		
<u>Dominant</u>	<u>Subordinate</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
I. Worker	→ Client	Cooling out
II. Supervisor	→ Worker	Pattern maintenance
III. Department head	→ Supervisor	Programming
IV. Director, policy-maker	→ Department head	Breadwinning

<sup>3</sup> Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, N.Y., 1963); Everett Hughes, "Good People and Dirty Work," in Howard S. Becker, ed., *The Other Side* (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 23-36.

<sup>4</sup> Eliot Freidson, "Disability as Social Deviance," in M. Sussman, ed., *Sociology and Rehabilitation* (Cleveland: American Sociological Association, 1965), pp. 82-93.

<sup>5</sup> Constantina Rothschild, *The Sociology and Social Psychology of Disability and Rehabilitation* (New York: Random House, 1970); Robert Strauss, "Social Change and Rehabilitation Concept," in Sussman, ed., *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Scheff, "Typification in the Diagnostic Practices of Rehabilitation Agencies," in Sussman, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 139-44.

<sup>7</sup> Talcott Parsons, *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* (New York: Free Press, 1960), pp. 44-58.

condition) is helped to achieve a new, more socially adjusted and valuable role.<sup>8</sup> Most often, he is persuaded to readjust his sights downward and accepts less than he feels he deserves or has earned;<sup>9</sup> that is, he is "cooled out,"<sup>10</sup> is given an "excuse" for being a failure or victim. He is persuaded to accept his loss and not protest it, since protest would likely lead to a disruption of the normative flow. Rehabilitation is, thus, learning how to live with one's condition<sup>11</sup> in a way that promotes societal rather than individual welfare.

Level II is similar to Level I in many ways. The supervisor, who is a senior professional, is a line administrator who maintains proper helping patterns through making case assignments, holding case conferences, and managing worker tensions.<sup>12</sup> The dyad is the principal form of personal interaction and is designed to maintain the agencies' normative flow.

Level III is less related to the internal or domestic issues.<sup>13</sup> Much more time is spent in cohort interaction with department heads regarding management and program development. The medium of interpersonal exchange is group rather than dyadic in orientation.

Level IV involves policy execution as well as fiscal development. The "breadwinners" spend much of their time "outside."

*Level I.* The major structural element is the dyadic interview which involves members of both client and worker cohorts. In our sample, 90 percent of the worker cohort was female. Females in the cohort had also been out of school longer and were older

<sup>8</sup> Ronald G. Corwin and Alfred C. Clarke, "Social Change and Social Values," in Hansen, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 274-328.

<sup>9</sup> Jessie Bernard, "Functions and Limitations in Counseling and Psychotherapy," *ibid.*, pp. 348-77.

<sup>10</sup> Erving Goffman, "Cooling the Mark Out," in Arnold Rose, ed., *Human Behavior and Social Processes* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), pp. 451-63.

<sup>11</sup> Erving Goffman, *Stigma* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963); Rothschild, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Sylvia Astro et al., *Guide to the Content of Second Year Field Teaching in Casework* (Chicago: School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 1961); William Caudill, *The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

<sup>13</sup> Anselm Stauss et al., *Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions* (New York: Free Press, 1964).

compared with the males. Women tend to have a career at this level. This factor may be influenced by the fact that this role closely approximates the role ascribed to females both in the kinship unit and in the community at large.<sup>14</sup> An analysis of articles written by females in social work suggests that their goals may be primarily to achieve increased skills at Level I, to be a better worker, not the boss, at a higher level.

Participants in the client cohort are also predominately female. Beck found that 69 percent of those who came to initial interviews were female.<sup>15</sup> Figures available from an urban mental health center found that during 1971, of those receiving service, 60 percent were female. Females also tended to stay longer in treatment.<sup>16</sup> Office hours and societal emphasis on the male work role, which conflicts with the demands and consequences of the client role,<sup>17</sup> would tend to facilitate the entrance of women into the system. This writer is also aware of the effects of daytime television as a recruiter for the use of psychiatric treatment. Several times recently, a local television station has carried a "Do you need help?" program in the 10:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. time slot. The weekday afternoon soap operas may be selling a very powerful stereotype, that of neurotic females constantly in search of psychiatric help. This stereotyping in the mass media is an important factor, and I personally believe that women should be just as concerned as other groups, such as Indians and Italians.

The negotiation, or cooling, at level I takes place, then, between two females. The worker's goal is to casework<sup>18</sup> the victim and arrive at a professional definition of his condition,

<sup>14</sup> Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist* (1943), pp. 22-38.

<sup>15</sup> Dorothy Beck, *Patterns in Use of Family Agency Service* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1962).

<sup>16</sup> Material from the records of the Philadelphia Office of Mental Health and Mental Retardation.

<sup>17</sup> David Landy, "Problems of Seeking Help in Our Society," in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 127-45; Derek Phillips, "Rejection: a Possible Consequence of Seeking Help for Mental Disorders," in Thomas Scheff, ed. *Mental Illness and Social Process* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 63-76.

<sup>18</sup> Caudill, *op. cit.*



called a diagnosis; that is, put him in his place.<sup>19</sup> Beck found that workers and clients agree on the condition only 58 percent of the time. The clients tended to believe that their conditions were largely interpersonal or external; for example, economic, marital conflict, and employment.<sup>20</sup> These conditions are linked to the male role.<sup>21</sup> Yet, the worker refocused the problem to personal incompetence.<sup>22</sup> Beck's findings reinforce the pattern sighted by Frank and many others. Goffman<sup>23</sup> sums it up eloquently as he discusses the client's transformation from person to case. The worker builds a dossier and convinces the patient that *her* line is not as reasonable as the worker's. The client, whose condition has led her to a point of emotional bankruptcy and crisis, is highly suggestible and often an easily cooled-out "mark."<sup>24</sup> If our sample can be generalized beyond social work, helping is largely a female phenomenon.

*Level II.* Our society stresses the need to supervise females to a greater extent than males. This is true in high school, college, professional school,<sup>25</sup> and even, as we found, on the job, where nearly 90 percent of those in the sample who were supervised were female. They were supervised longer and at a higher age than males. The importance of the supervisory norm in social work was supported by our sample. Sixty-seven percent of respondents were involved in the supervisory process, either receiving or giving. In addition, the supervision was very close, with a ratio of approximately three and a half workers to each supervisor. This is unusually close supervision for professional workers who have internalized skills; yet, it may reflect an em-

<sup>19</sup> Scheff, *op. cit.*; Jerome Frank, *et al.*, "Why Patients Stay in Psychotherapy," *American Medical Association Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 1957, pp. 283-99.

<sup>20</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Parsons, "The Kinship System. . . ."

<sup>22</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*; Caudill, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Erving Goffman, "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient," *Psychiatry*, XXII (1959), 125-31.

<sup>24</sup> Frank, *op. cit.*; Goffman, "Cooling the Mark Out," Parsons, "The Kinship System . . .," Kent Miller, "Study of Crisis Behavior," *Human Organization*, Fall, 1963.

<sup>25</sup> Cynthia Krueger, "Do Bad Girls Become Good Nurses?" in S. Wallace, ed., *Total Institutions* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 87-101.

phasis on indoctrination and/or the dyadic nature of the helping process, a pattern which was set by the psychoanalytic field. While social work has made efforts to open up the supervisory relationship, our data indicate that it is still emphasized as a means of maintaining the existing helping and agency patterns. The readers may judge for themselves the importance of sex as an influence. Finally, females have a horizontal career in social welfare. The position of supervisor appears to be the end point for those who may be career-minded.<sup>26</sup>

*Level III.* While there are numerically more females than males in this cohort, only 17 percent of the females in the sample are found here. In addition, while 32 percent of the sample are found at Level III, only 3 percent of the males in the sample are in a subordinate position in the interaction. Since females outnumber males three to one in the sample and in the field, they are thus underrepresented as members of this cohort. In fact, we found that 65 percent of the males were members of the top two cohorts. While nearly 80 percent of the females are found in the bottom two cohorts, male members are again younger and have completed their professional education more recently.

*Level IV.* The elite breadwinners' cohort makes up 11 percent of the sample, and 78 percent of its members are male. Approximately 34 percent of males in the sample are found in this cohort. If this cohort were expanded to include other professionals, I suggest that the trend, toward maleness, would become even stronger.

#### SEX, CAREER AND SOCIAL ROLE

The data suggest that there are two career lines in social work which are determined by sex. Females have a horizontal job pattern, while the male pattern is vertical. Societal notions and stereotypes of the female as being more feeling-oriented, and a domestic tension manager, are thus reflected in the organization of

<sup>26</sup> The supervisor is apparently the skill model. We speculate that supervisors often move into teaching rather than into program direction.

social agencies.<sup>27</sup> A parallel between the occupations of housewife and worker could be supported by our data. The social work house is divided along sexual lines which conform to societal roles. We discussed the cooling-out process earlier as a method of helping the victim or loser accept his condition without protest; that is, one is helped to settle for less than he thinks he deserves. The "mark" may even begin to see advantages in his loss, and perhaps can be convinced that he is really better off. Workers have been heard to demonstrate this same proclivity in the belief that those in the bottom cohorts really control what happens in the agency: the hand that rocks the cradle controls the world. This is the rhetoric of a "mark" who has been well cooled out; so well, in fact, that she becomes the unwitting advocate of compliance.<sup>28</sup> For example, in our study on attitudes on abortion, respondents were asked to state their preference regarding a range of choices—for example, woman alone, with advice, and so forth—regarding control in making a decision about a problem pregnancy. The social workers in the sample clearly preferred a joint decision between a skilled professional and the woman. The female is not expected to be able to deal with her own condition.

#### HELPING AND THE CONDITION OF WOMEN

There is mounting evidence that it is beneficial for persons to be able to manage their own condition<sup>29</sup> even when they make mistakes. Lack of independence or freedom to manage one's condition is seen as having destructive consequences, such as "trained helplessness" and a defeatist attitude.<sup>30</sup> The sexual organization of helping is seen as perpetuating pattern maintenance or, at the personal level, conformity to stereotypes. These

<sup>27</sup> Parsons, "The Kinship System . . . .

<sup>28</sup> Bernard, *op. cit.*; Hansen, ed., *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Miller, *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> Edmon Gordon, "Review of the Coleman Report," *JACD Bulletin*, Ferkauf Graduate School, Yeshiva University Vol. III, No. 5 (1969).

stereotypes, which are at the heart of the helping process,<sup>31</sup> while they may prevent protest, also impede the process of societal viability in the long run. Bernard<sup>32</sup> suggests that helping has moved from protest to cooling out. If the findings of our social work sample can be generalized, the position of the female in helping becomes a pivotal issue. At each level, the welfare model<sup>33</sup> and its attendant demands for "casing" the victim are linked to the sexual organization of helping.

#### A LIBERATION MODEL VS. THE WELFARE MODEL

Social work has been struggling to attain professional status and, at the same time, to be a force for social change. It is no surprise that this house which is divided against itself has had less than dramatic success in reaching either goal. The liberation of women from their stereotyped condition in the basement of social welfare strikes close to home. I suggest a path to being part of the solution rather than continuing to be part of the problem. The following recommendations are the foundations of a liberation model:

1. Become advised of the variety of normal family and kinship roles which can be open to women, as well as support innovation and experimentation with new life styles.
2. Seek to expand the career choices of women within the field as programmers and policy-makers as well as in the society as a whole.
3. Provide both a new emphasis on the societal importance of child care (the ratio of trained to untrained workers in child care agencies clearly demonstrates the value placed on child rearing in the eyes of the system) and give a more inclusive status to the lower participants (reduction of the supervisory model with foster parents and reduction of dependency roles for the foster child and adopting parents).
4. Recognize that for the immediate future, innovators will be

<sup>31</sup> Scheff, *op. cit.*; Freidson, *op. cit.*; Frank, *op. cit.*; D. Sudnow, "Normal Crimes," *Social Problems*, XII (1965), 255-76.

<sup>32</sup> Bernard, *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Stuart Kirk, "Clients as Outsiders: Theoretical Approaches to Deviance," *Social Work*, XVII, No. 2 (1972), 24-33.

labeled as having a deviant condition and thus will suffer and seek help from social agencies. These persons should not be viewed as "sick" or pathological and placed in the client role.

These are some of the changes which would result in the support of women's rights. Perhaps a more immediate, though equally partial, solution is the reduction of segregation of function and task along sex lines within the helping system. This could be accomplished through moving downward the programming and policy decisions to the level of worker and supervisor, and yes, even to the client. Such approaches have been found to be highly successful means of rehabilitation.<sup>34</sup> The separation and segregation of program and policy elements from the lower participants are only partially sexual problems. For, if a position is stifling to a female, it is likely to be just as stifling to a male. Therefore, there are two problems: changing the role segregation of positions and changing the positions themselves. Separate but equal is not really equal. Finally, there is an inherent conflict between maintenance goals and growth goals to be dealt with, as this conflict is often aptly covered by rhetoric and euphemism.

This discussion has, I believe supplied enough evidence to conclude that the welfare system, the profession of social work, and the female, are bound by the same set of threads. We have not talked about the symptoms of the social structure; it is the structure itself. The threads are the fabric itself.

<sup>34</sup> Cordell H. Thomas, "A Sociobehavioral Approach to the Treatment of Hospitalized Alcoholics," in Willard C. Richan, ed., *Human Services and Social Work Responsibility* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1969), pp. 212-19.

# *A Military Program for Race Relations*

EDWARD F. KRISE

OUR COUNTRY TODAY suffers from no lack of acutely pressing problems. In the estimate of many, the most basic threat of all lies in the area of race relations. The two institutions of our country most directly and forcefully affected by the resulting build-up of racial tensions are education and the defense establishment. They are the two institutions in regard to which the individual has least personal choice as to his participation, and the only two where minorities and majority must often live together.

Following the death of Martin Luther King, the rise of black militancy in civilian life began to affect the attitudes of black men coming into the armed forces. The young black serviceman today is more vocal in expressing his complaints about real or imagined discrimination than even his own older brother would have been six or eight years ago. His brother countered acts of racial discrimination only with hard work and endurance. Today's young black is more likely to make his resentment known. He often has more personal and racial pride, more bitterness at real or imagined injustice.

Evidence of the escalation of tensions has been increasingly apparent within the Defense Department for the last five years. There have been incidents in widespread locations: Lejeune, Cam Rahn Bay, Travis Air Force Base, Frankfurt, Okinawa, Hawaii, Great Lakes, Fort Meade, Fort Dix, Fort Ord, Fort

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McClellan. And there is the nightly conflict that goes on between majority and minority individuals in their off-duty hours throughout the armed forces. A year ago General Abrams specified that racial tension was his number one problem in Southeast Asia. Others commanders, in all branches of the services, have been asking for help in meeting their problems in this area.

Formation of the Defense Race Relations Education program signaled the manifest commitment of the Department of Defense and the services to move in a positive way to meet head-on the problems of racial mistrust and the disharmonies that threaten the effectiveness of the services in accomplishing their missions. The steps which led to its establishment began with proclamation of the Human Goals program by Secretary Laird in August, 1969. An interservice task force on education in race relations was formed in January, 1970, chaired by Air Force Colonel Lucius Theus, which completed its work in July, 1970. It recommended a mandatory educational program and development of an educational package designed for various levels of personnel.

On October 15 and 16, 1970, 100 armed forces personnel, representing grades from private to lieutenant general, participated in a pilot test of the committee's recommendations. The unanimous conclusions were that: (1) an educational program in race relations was essential; (2) it must be mandatory for all armed forces personnel; and (3) instructor personnel must be trained. An implementation committee proceeded, with the assistance of a variety of personnel from the military departments and outside consultants, to develop the concept of the program as it was finally adopted. During this period representatives of several of the Associate Groups of the National Conference on Social Welfare were called as consultants, as well as persons from industry, the academic world, and elsewhere. The concept was approved by Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard in February, 1971.

On June 24, 1971, the Secretary of Defense issued a directive to the military departments:

1. A program of education in race relations would be established on a continuing basis for all military personnel under the



guidance of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

2. A Race Relations Education Board would be established, advisory to the Secretary of Defense and to provide over-all policy guidance for the program of education in race relations.

3. The Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) would be established as a field activity of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs). The mission of the DRRI would be to train instructors in race relations, develop doctrine and curricula in education for race relations, conduct research, evaluate program effectiveness, and disseminate educational guidelines and materials for utilization throughout the armed forces.

4. The position of director of the Institute and the two deputy director positions would be rotated among the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, with all three services represented at any time in these three positions.

5. Commissioned officers and enlisted personnel from all Department of Defense components, augmented by qualified civilian personnel, would be assigned duty on faculty and staff.

6. The Secretaries of the military departments would select and assign full-time race relations instructors to be trained by DRRI.

Between February and June a site for the Institute was selected: Patrick Air Force Base at Cocoa Beach, Florida. A nucleus of key personnel began to work on development of the program and the curriculum for training race relations instructors. The concept of educating military personnel on race relations through use of the small-group seminar was adopted on the basis of prior army and civilian experience.

It was determined that in order to maintain a military orientation the instructor staff would be active-duty personnel. Civilian personnel would be placed in other key staff positions, however, to bring expertise not generally available in the military, in areas such as research, evaluation, professional education, library operation, and so on. The staff and faculty now comprise twenty-five military and seven civilian positions, with twenty-six

men and four women. Fifty-three percent are members of various minority groups. Forty-three percent hold bachelor's degrees, 10 percent have master's, and 18 percent hold doctorates. A third are high school graduates or have had some college work. Additionally, there are twelve clerical positions, bringing the total staff to forty-four.

Another basic developmental concept was that a mixture would be sought in the military group of both officers and enlisted personnel, representation from white and other minority groups as well as blacks, and would include personnel just recently coming from operational and combat situations. As appropriate, the same concepts would apply to selection of civilian staff members. The principle that was the basis for this composition of staff and faculty was that the involvement of effective interpersonal relationships by Institute personnel would demonstrate to students that accomplishment of such a goal is realizable.

We have learned that this is not always easy, which is really not surprising when one looks at the complication of our "mix." The differences include not only minority/majority, but military/civilian, officer/enlisted, male/female, interservice differences, educational levels from high school to doctoral, and age variations from the twenties to the fifties. These variables do generate many productive tensions—for instance, the civilian presence is an aid in modifying some of the rank conflicts. But our experience so far has clearly shown that it is essential to have outside professional assistance in order to maintain open and honest communication that will function in the emotionally charged atmosphere inherent in a situation in which all-too-human beings attempt to deal with the deeply ingrained response patterns and unconscious attitudes which we all have in regard to race relations.

From the beginning, the objective of this operation has been to bring about changes in behavior, not attitudes. We believe that if military personnel, or other persons, can learn to recognize when specific behavior rouses antagonism in others, behavior can be modified and conflict-provoking situations avoided.

Personnel trained at DRRI, who are drawn from both officer

and enlisted ranks and from the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, are designated "race relations instructors." They return to their home bases and installations to conduct discussion seminars according to a core curriculum prepared by DRRI which covers:

1. Department of Defense and service race relations policies and goals
2. Recognition of personal racism in oneself or others
3. Understanding of how institutions founded on majority values tend to ignore minority values, polarizing the two groups
4. Examination of misunderstandings between the two groups in the services
5. Understanding that racial problems in the armed forces are an extension of those in civilian life and the cultural elements involved
6. Examination of the racial problems peculiar to the particular installation.

Sessions begin with top command and move through all levels. The objective is to convert conflict to dialogue and dialogue to problem-solving. The means through which this will be accomplished is mandatory attendance by all armed forces personnel at group discussion seminars of twenty-five or less. The basis for use of the seminar is to try to provide experience which will enable the individual to incorporate new knowledge into his own frame of reference, since that is required for change to take place in the individual.

The concept of the task of the Institute, therefore, was to analyze what basic skills and information would be required to conduct these seminars; and to devise a curriculum which would provide these for the race relations instructor. There was no intention to make everyone who went through the Institute a learned scholar in ethnic studies or a qualified American historian.

It was determined to be essential for the student:

1. To be well-grounded in the history and contributions of the major minority groups and up-to-date on current

trends and issues affecting the various minority groups in this country

2. To understand behavioral science principles as they affect intergroup tensions
3. To have some personal experience with the community life styles of minority groups
4. To develop "how-to" skills in small-group leadership.

The general planning was accomplished during the summer of 1971. By Labor Day the bulk of the staff and faculty had arrived at Patrick Air Force Base. The details of curriculum and lesson plan preparation were carried out between then and November 1 when the pilot session group of thirty-two students arrived. After six weeks of training they were graduated on December 10. The period from then until January 31, when the first regular class of seventy-nine arrived, was utilized by faculty and staff for modification and revision of the training program as indicated by pilot session experience. One major change was that of lengthening the training period to seven weeks.

At present, students receive sixty-five hours of training in minorities studies, thirty-five hours in the behavioral sciences, fifty-eight hours of training and practice in the techniques of small-group leadership, and thirty hours of involvement in the community. The latter is carried out through the local community action agency and by a weekend field trip to inner-city and ghetto areas of Miami and Dade County.

Construction of the behavioral sciences curriculum was not easy, since students' educational backgrounds, like those of the Institute faculty, range from high school to doctorates. We have had to do minor surgery on that part of the curriculum continually so as not to lose the attention of the Ph.D. or "turn off" the high school graduate who is encountering these principles for the first time. In all of the material presented in the course an effort is made to relate it directly to the military experience and to maintain reading level requirements within the capability of the high school graduate. At the same time, suggestions of additional reading are made for students who want to go more deeply into a subject or explore other facets. For example, on

the self and interaction, *Black Americans*, by Baughman, and *Self-Development* from the Executive Library Series are assigned reading for all students; on the optional reading list are *Black Rage*, by Grier and Cobbs, and a selection from *Social Psychology*, by Sargent and Williams. Additional suggested readings are available upon the request of the student.

There were other modifications and revisions of program and curriculum following the first regular class, and there will undoubtedly be others before our third class of 150 students comes in on June 12. We anticipate that this will always be an evolving program, adapting continually to changing situations in the environment in which it operates and in the larger community as well.

From the beginning, it was anticipated that an integral element of the Institute program would be continuing evaluation research. A number of instruments were tested on the pilot session group and the first regular class. We now have instruments to assess student background through a battery of tests for analysis of perception, attitude, experience, and knowledge which are administered at the beginning and end of the seven-week class period.

In various stages of development are procedures for systematic observations of student adjustment during the seven weeks, methods for grading student performance, and procurement of evaluation indices for field observations of graduates' effectiveness. Scheduled for future attention is the development of a series of procedures and measures to determine the operational impact at military installations by graduates of DRRI and completion of measures for determining DRRI effectiveness.

It is our intent, of course, constantly to be evaluating in order to provide the basis for continuous modification of the program. At this early stage of experience little hard data are available. Informal feedback from former students, from commanding officers, and from observation trips by our staff to bases where graduates are now operating the program is giving us some assessment, however.

One factor which seems clearly to be a key determinant of

program effectiveness is the attitude of the commander. So far, at least, wherever the commanding officer is positive and supportive to the program, the education program receives willing, even enthusiastic, participation from personnel. The degree and rate of progress vary directly with the support he provides, such as facilities and other resources, and his demonstrated interest.

One assumption in our planning would appear now to need reconsideration. The plan was that participation in the seminars would begin with top command and move progressively down through echelons, with no one receiving training until his supervisor or commander had been involved. We are finding, however, that groups of mixed-rank differential seem to function more effectively than peer groups.

At this point, and again without formal assessment, there are indications that the demand for access to more knowledge and information in the area of racial relations is greater than might have been anticipated. Requests from commanders for inclusion of their personnel in DRRI training are increasing. Some are requesting help from the Institute with interim programs they can inaugurate until they can get their own race relations instructors trained at DRRI. We have had numerous requests from groups on our home base and in the surrounding community for briefings, and these have been well-received. The senior service schools have also requested assistance with their curricula in race relations.

One very positive reflection on the program has been the enthusiasm of students in the pilot group and in the first regular class for the course of instruction, and their general learning experience. In their written critiques of the course they have generally indicated little desire for change in either the material covered or the methods of instruction. Comments such as, "This was an outstanding learning experience" and "one of the greatest experiences of my life" are common. Of course, the real test of the validity of the instruction will be in their effectiveness in carrying out the program on their bases, and it is still too early to assess that in any conclusive way. Reports received from graduates who have a program under way, however, are positive in



their evaluation of the adequacy of their preparation by the Institute training.

The indications that there is need to prepare the environment in which the graduate of DRRI will function, as well as preparing him, are being given careful consideration. Means for more adequate preparation of commanders to implement the race relations program in their commands are under discussion.

The military history of this country is studded with examples of how we as a people have learned to die together nobly. The challenge that faces all of us today—military *and* civilian—is whether we can learn as well how to *live* together. The mission with which the Defense Race Relations Institute is charged is to prove that it is possible for all men to live and work together. There is no lack of skeptics who believe the mission cannot be accomplished. But I believe there are many more people who are awed at the size of the task, but are hoping desperately that we can do it, and are wishing us well.

Although this program was specifically developed to meet the racial problems in the armed forces, it has been hoped from the beginning that the experience and its findings will be adaptable to other institutions. The wide diversity among personnel in the military, which reflects a broad spectrum of the population of our country, provides a useful testing ground for concepts and procedures to be applied in other settings.

There is also a constant flow of personnel from civilian life into the military and to civilian life from military experience. If this program is successful in bringing about behavioral change in persons while they are members of the armed forces, at least some of this changed behavior toward members of other racial or ethnic groups will continue after they return to civilian life. Of even more direct bearing, personnel from both the Reserves and the National Guard are being trained at the Institute. When we see the growth and development which occurs in seven weeks in many of those being trained to be race relations instructors, we cannot doubt that they, at least, have undergone change that will have a permanent effect.

In a recent session with our students at DRRI, the Rev. An-



drew Young, Director of the Atlanta Commission of Human Relations and formerly one of Dr. Martin Luther King's aides, stated: "I really believe in what you are doing. I think nobody else has developed a program to deal with institutional racism." He also observed:

You have a future not only in the military. If you learn to break down some of these tensions, we've got a whole world of racism for you to deal with. Because there's no place in the world where it doesn't exist in some way, shape, or form. I think we've got to learn the technique to help people learn to live together.

We are in a revolution—all of us—both civilians and military. And this is perhaps a tougher fight than this country has ever had, because what it involves is a revolution in the life, and thinking, and feeling, of each individual citizen of this country. This nation, in its Constitution, established new principles for how people could live together, work together, and get things done. We're on the block now to prove that these principles will work for *every* human being—blacks, Chicanos, and all other minorities—not just the white people who created and established them.

At the time the Defense Department's Race Relations Education program was announced, Thomas Johnson pointed out in a New York *Times* story that professional soldiers had been saying of integration in the armed forces that "the military's job is to fight and not to lead social revolutions." He observed: "And so the ironies of a modern America must convince many a grizzled old sergeant that for the military to do its job of fighting, it must now lead a social revolution."

# *An Inner-City Cultural Program*

JOHN DANGERFIELD COOPER

RACISM MADE ITSELF FELT in North America immediately after the colonial period throughout the states. William Penn had a beautiful plan for living, and blacks enjoyed themselves in early Philadelphia. A group of black merchants borrowed approximately \$60,000 for business expansion from the young Philadelphia Saving Fund Society in Benjamin Franklin's time. James Ruswun was a respected black scholar whose works were widely read in a literate society. Prior to Penn, an African came with the Swedes to Delaware in 1638 and enjoyed a successful career as a merchant. In early Boston, blacks enjoyed similar societal freedoms, but these were soon lost throughout the emerging states.

Cultural racism made itself felt quite early in the performing and visual arts simply by denying blacks an opportunity for study, performance, and general aesthetic development. With the advent of full-blown American slavery the black man was regarded as mere chattel, to be bought and sold and treated as mean as the intellect of the overseer could muster. Even in the so-called "liberal" North, conservatories, art schools, literary societies, dance academies, theater groups, and, finally, churches considered the Afro American outside the cultural stream. Fraternal orders, sororities, and like groups suddenly found it vitally necessary to write exclusion clauses into their bylaws; those that did not write them openly refused to admit black Americans. It is highly significant, then, that in each score of years a black of high artistic talent appeared and was permitted to per-

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form. Such performances were exclusive and generally did nothing for the great mass of blacks.

Of all the revolutions in America the Afro Americans' began with a cultural thrust that still sends chills through spines in the simplicity of its utterance. It was at once the highest aesthetic form of its day, and those spirituals reached beyond the utter sordid reality of man's inhumanity to speak with the ultimate transcendence of divine revelation.

An open society is a free society, and that vision so sparked the forensic abilities of Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman that they were able to lead and effectively represent embattled and frightened slaves, group upon group, to freedom on the Underground Railroad. The stark majesty of David Walker, Frederick Douglass, and Booker Taliaferro Washington worked significantly in aiding thousands of black Americans move from slavery to human dignity in a closed society. Walker, Douglass, Truth, Tubman, and Washington excelled in bringing the argumentative capacities of formal debate to fire the flames of the abolitionist movement into the war called "civil" in the states "united."

Freedom from slavery did not permit the black American entry to an open society; it merely meant a subservient role in a society that still considered him culturally ignorant and incapable of assimilation into the democratic ideal. The road to the cultural arts found new ways for obstruction, and they are prevalent in many forms today. A black person in the first quarter of this century usually had to study privately and furthered his artistic pursuits through the efforts of sympathetic whites. Those who were beyond the reach of these moved culturally within the surging and struggling black cultural idioms that were looked upon humorously by white bigots. Blind Tom's technical wizardry at the piano and Black Patti's faultless arias may have astonished thousands yet their heroic triumphs were looked upon as oddities in the cultural society. The famed Fisk Jubilee Singers toured the world, thrilling hundreds of thousands in their glorious singing of native-born, black-created spirituals and opened a wedge in the culturally closed society.

Innumerable are the names whose achievements in the performing and visual arts aided in smashing the mighty obstacles that had to be overcome to make this nation move toward an open society. These names are well-known, for all were judged by their artistic time; the horror is that each was permitted to perform while the door was closed to all others. The sorry spectacle of the Daughters of the American Revolution refusing Marion Anderson entry to Constitution Hall for her recital shocked the world and gave credence that the cultural revolution was on the right track.

The constant hammer of the black Judaeo-Christian spirituals presented the plight of blacks to the world, yet I fear the grandchild called jazz finally made a cleft that provided entry toward an open society. This so-called "low" form of cultural expression, often despised, often misunderstood, finally rocked the world into a new consciousness through its basic form. The legendary legion of black jazz artists who created an aesthetic *élan* that capitulated our world is well-known, well-copied, well-borrowed, and well-respected. The current stalwarts use their talents in challenging our society to change for the better ideal to an open society.

Katherine Dunham opened the eyes of the world to the beauty and language of the Caribbean, black South America, and Africa through the dance. The results of her work are now appearing in a cultural revolution by blacks across this nation. Alvin Ailey, Arthur Mitchell, John Hines, and Arthur Hall well represent this ideal in New York, Wilmington (Delaware), and Philadelphia. There are hundreds more, and each seeks a definitive style patent for the local black community.

The early black novelists pointed the way, and many reached great heights, yet the angry young poets of the 1950s and 1960s brought to the front the direct concerns of my people in unmistakable terms. The new black theater provided the new awareness theme with the needed stage to push the burgeoning cultural explosion to the level it has reached in these early 1970s. There is perhaps both a derisive and a divisive tone in some writings, and in others there is direction that is relevant to an

open society; this alone must continue to be the ultimate cultural expression.

The cultural arts are the integral key to breaking the barriers to an open society. The cultural arts are not a leisure-time activity, they are the best training ground toward a humane society that exists. Unfortunately, our schools relegate the cultural arts to the end of their budgets and try to come to grips with groups whose cultural variances they do not care to understand. In social welfare a full stomach, a decent home, and a paying job are top priorities; yet these lose their meaning without a sound cultural basis for their sustenance. The basis for coping with society is culturally oriented, and as such it must be given a high priority in social welfare. The whole surge toward an open society simply means "let me in," and once in what do we use as the keystone? I heartily suggest the cultural arts.

In Chicago, Rochester, Atlanta, New York, Cleveland, and Los Angeles, to name a few, there are centers devoted exclusively to the cultural arts. Each center may stress a point of emphasis pertinent to its locale, yet all have the ingredients of the performing and visual arts. Art, music, dance, theater, forensics, dialogue, and literature are used as a base for self-awareness and analysis as an entree toward an open society. If this is then true for black America it must be true for white America.

The Christina Center in Wilmington used the following six points as objectives for its community center:

1. Emotional growth: exploration; self-discovery
2. Intellectual growth: motivation; techniques
3. Aesthetic growth: awareness; appreciation
4. Perceptual growth: natural senses
5. Physical growth: coordination; expression
6. Social growth: group participation; creative experience.

These objectives were the base for a cultural program designed to reach the inner-city child and adult, and to achieve understanding between black and white communities for mutual benefits. The flexible program includes the following: experimental theater, designed to point out community needs; music, for motivation in jazz, gospel singing, steel band, all instru-

ments, stressing self-achievement by performance and pointing toward possible careers; dance, to explore the Afro Cuban, pure African, Afro American, modern, and interpretive forms; arts, to explore black awareness through pottery, masks, oils, acrylics, graphics, and watercolor; literature, to highlight black history and Afro American poetry and literature; photography, to teach the skill and then zero in on the local community; dialogue, with segments of the white community on a continuing basis for exchange of ideas and resolution of problems. Periodically, the programs are put together for a cultural arts show to present aesthetic progress to the community.

All of these programs are geared to bring the inner-city child to an awareness of his potential and to develop his talent in a meaningful motivation for success in our highly competitive society. The cultural arts are not used as a divisive tool but rather as a bridge between black and white in the making of an open society; a society based on respect and admiration and sincere appreciation of cultural difference. Above all is the ready acceptance of the challenge that if our democratic republic is to succeed, it must first build a cultural base open and acceptable to all Americans. Perhaps the following quotations, one black and one white, will best summarize the cultural intent:

When this opportunity was made available to me, I had to reach out for it. I thought of all the generations of my people who suffered painfully, silently, building and protesting and never giving up . . .<sup>1</sup>

When you have reached your own room, be kind to those who have chosen different doors and to those who are still in the hall. If they are wrong they need your prayers all the more; and if they are your enemies, then you are under orders to pray for them. That is one of the rules common to the whole house.<sup>2</sup>

What are the results of the three years that this program has been in operation? Is there progress? If so, how can it be effectively evaluated? The measuring rod of any effective program is correctly built into the structure or objectives upon which it is

<sup>1</sup> Clara Stanton Jones, Director of the Detroit Public Library, the fifth largest system in the nation, in *McCall's*, March, 1971, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> C. S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1958), p. xii.



based. Therefore, management by objectives has been the cardinal direction of our cultural arts program.

Dr. David Van Tyn, of the University of Delaware, a specialist in tests and measurements, recently spent two days with the United Fund staff and executive directors at a study retreat at Downingtown, Pennsylvania. His main theme was "management by objectives." The objectives would be drafted in concert by the board of directors and the executive director of the program. Having reached accord at this level the executive director then would implement the program with his staff; at no time would there be an attempt to set standards, for these cannot be applied in community service programs. Only objectives can be weighed in community services because of the multiplicity of diverse and contrapuntal needs.

The important ingredients, then, are staff and the relationship of the staff to those who voluntarily seek the service offered. Neither board, executive director, nor staff should ever think that because services are offered to a community most people will take advantage of them. Equally foolish would be an attempt to ascertain from the community in a joint session what it directly wants. The answers would be as countless as the ideas are multiplied by each individual. The answer lies in the direct observation by the board and the executive director in formulating the objectives of the program. The cross checking lies in the executive director's ability to instruct his staff in the knowledge of the objectives and in direct implementation of the program. The results are in the students serviced, and these can only be weighed or judged from two aspects:

1. Satisfaction by the recipients of the program and their involvement and appreciation of the aesthetic self-development.
2. Direct observation by the board, executive director, and staff that the objectives are being realized through the recipients' involvement in the various programs and community response to the performances.

Any other consideration is meaningless and only tends to confuse the issue with impractical methodologies. Statistical notes



are of no use in value judgments and therefore belong properly in file cabinets. Figures, then, are not a real criterion of the success of any program and should only be used to formulate new objectives in direct programming. Failure becomes a relative term in the face of the objectives, and the mold of the objectives must be as flexible as possible to permit successful access to the community to which the service is offered.

Time becomes relative in relation to a community service and should not be applied in a business world sense in attempting to achieve acculturation within a given community. As time is relative to each recipient directly involved in a program, so is it relative in the relationship to the total community in which the program operates. Such community data cannot be achieved, but there are indices from the community through the recipients that let us know that the objectives are attainable. These indices are observable in community support of the directly serviced recipients' performance and in their attitudes, changed by involvement in the cultural arts.

Board activity becomes meaningful in operating by objectives. Its activity is toward open and direct involvement with director and staff and program recipients. General misunderstanding of this function often makes a neighborhood board the complimentary arm of a business corporation. Such thinking is anathema to service organizations and has precipitated the general community and staff revolts against such paternalistic and outrageous behavior. The board cannot set standards for these are meaningless; the board can only set flexible objectives and effectively engage in communication through the agency to move toward them.

Effective service by an agency is set in motion by observation, implementation, and again observation. Value judgments on the success of a program are based on direct observation, not facts or figures. Christina has moved toward the six flexible objectives, and this can be detailed through program presentation, recipient involvement, and adherence to the objectives set for moving the program into the community.

Acculturation is a long process, and the benefits are modular.

Development begins in the initial process, but continuity will depend on flexible programming in relation to involved recipients and the community that shares in the results through presentations. In this respect the staff is most important in their relation first to the executive director and second to the board of the agency. It is no longer board "we," director "you" and staff "they"; the proper word is "we" for all three with input from staff through director to board in concert. The staff, then, is as important as the board and shares in the thinking process as equals, not as servants. The community shares in the same manner with input coming from the community through the directly involved recipients, to the staff, up to the directly involved board. Anything less is negative and fosters confoundment as to an agency's purpose and utility.

We have seen the change in attitudes toward blacks in all of the cultural arts via television, radio, newspapers, journals, and community participation. Let us keep up the thrust begun by our heroic ancestors and keep the cultural arts high on the priority list of social welfare. It is the basic key to breaking the barrier to an open society.

# *Volunteers in a Service Agency for Adolescents*

JAN C. HORN

PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENTS have been brought into sharp focus in recent years by waves of drug abuse, venereal disease, pregnancy, runaways, and dropouts. Many communities find themselves in the throes of these skyrocketing problems, but without necessary funds or professional staff to cope with them.

About three and a half years ago, in response to the apparent need for professional adolescent services in Riverside, California, a small group of citizens, including a pediatrician, school psychologist, probation officer, aerospace engineer, and two ministers, started meeting together in order to develop an innovative way to deliver such services. The two hurdles to be crossed were: no funds to start a new program and no agency support. To solve the problem we decided to start our own agency and utilize volunteers with professional training and individuals who would be trained in supportive roles. When we first decided to rely upon volunteers to provide these services, we were told: "You won't be able to recruit them"; "you can't rely on them"; "they lack professional competence"; and "they can't be used over a long haul." From our experience, however, we have found that volunteers can be recruited, trained, and relied upon to do an effective job and to stay with the agency for a long time. To achieve this, careful attention has to be given to training, supervision, and morale.

An informal committee of six developed the basic program, secured the facility, and gained the support of the local council

of churches, which gave us instant respectability. After this foundation had been laid, an article was published in the local paper, calling for a full range of volunteer help. The Riverside Planning and Volunteer Center agreed to recruit and give in-depth interviews to prospective paraprofessional and professionally trained volunteers and helped us develop suitable application forms and procedures. Within three weeks after securing permission to use a wing of All Saints Episcopal Church, we recruited enough volunteers to open the center five nights a week from 7:00 through 10:00 P.M.

At present, we offer ten services which are designed to provide comprehensive adolescent treatment within one agency. A free medical clinic specializes in pregnancy testing and counseling, venereal disease testing and treatment, and medical problems related to drug abuse. Individual counseling provides teen-agers the opportunity to talk with a trained counselor regarding such personal things as family and school problems, anxiety, depression, and related matters. Discussion groups with two adult leaders are designed to foster personal growth and the ability to get along better with others. A remedial reading program assists functionally illiterate junior and senior high school students to learn basic phonics and word-attack skills in order to bring their reading up to the sixth-grade level. Legal counseling assists youth and their parents with helpful information regarding legal problems. In a big-brother-type arrangement, the older brother/sister program matches adults with young boys and girls living in one-parent homes. The camp program permits scores of youth, ages fourteen through eighteen to attend a character-building week in a healthful setting on Catalina Island. In addition, a drug information and counseling program provides specialized help with everything from factual information on drugs to detoxification for heroin addicts. The runaway intervention program utilizes twenty homes throughout Riverside to provide emergency room and board for teen-agers who require a safe place to spend the night—mainly youths who have had a fight at home and are pretty upset. Parental permission is required for overnight placement. Counseling is also available to parents who

are having problems with their teen-age children. With the exception of the older brother/sister program and camping, these services are available to young people aged twelve through twenty-one years of age. There are no recreational activities at the center. All services are free of charge.

Since our opening in January, 1969, the response has been overwhelming. Thus far, more than 4,500 cases have been opened. Each year the number of new cases has almost doubled, and last year almost 10 percent of all the junior and senior high school students in the Riverside area came to the Center for help of one sort or another. In 1971 more than 500 V.D. tests and 550 pregnancy tests were given; 345 came for emotional problems; 118 were given remedial reading instruction; 77 spent a week on Catalina Island; while 35 young boys and girls were matched with an older "brother" or "sister." In addition, a computer system was developed, which is used to keep accurate statistics on everything that happens at the center.

The remarkable thing is that all of these services were performed by volunteers; none was dependent upon paid staff.

Although we cannot prove it, we feel that a large part of our success is the result of having a volunteer staff rather than a paid staff. By utilizing professionals in a volunteer capacity, we attract those that really want to help young people and not simply earn a living. Many of the young people who attend appreciate the help they get because they know the worker is a volunteer. We feel this also results in greater trust and a willingness to discuss problems more openly. One example of this is found in our V.D. work. We have almost three times as many negative V.D. tests as does the County Health Department, which also runs a free V.D. clinic. The Health Department interprets this to mean that more young people come to the Youth Service Center when they first suspect that they have been exposed rather than waiting until the signs are definite. This early contact enables the center to provide counseling so that they can protect themselves in the future.

Another vital aspect of our effectiveness is the cooperation of the local "hot line" which is operated by the Riverside Planning

and Volunteer Center. They refer more young people to us than anywhere else and also are authorized to use our runaway intervention service during the hours that the Youth Service Center is closed. We assist in their training program and also provide specialized help with drug-related problems.

The Youth Service Center during the past three and a half years has recruited more than 675 volunteers, eighteen years of age or older. This has been done through newspaper articles, radio messages, speeches, and the personal contact of many volunteers. This enthusiasm on the part of our volunteers has been largely responsible for the success of our recruitment, for personal contacts are by far the most effective way of recruiting volunteers. Another factor has been that the word has gotten out that the Center puts people to work in a challenging way. We have tried to convey the message that there is an urgent need for dedicated volunteers and that they can do a real service for the youth of our community.

From the beginning most of our volunteers have been recruited by, and have been given an in-depth interview by the staff of, the Riverside Planning and Volunteer Center, which is under the direction of Mrs. Mary Ann Lawson. We did not know very much about working with volunteers when we started out, but Mary Ann stayed close by our side and helped us over the rough spots by her skill and patience. Quite frankly, we never would have come so far in such a short time had it not been for Mary Ann Lawson.

During the initial interview, each volunteer fills out an application form in which he signs a statement which draws attention to the fact that volunteer work at the Youth Service Center requires a high level of personal conduct and dedication. After the application is received by the Center, three requests for references are sent out for each volunteer. After the references are received and evaluated, the new volunteer is asked to attend two orientation sessions with other new volunteers, to learn the basic policies and programs of the Youth Service Center. A manual of information about the Center is given to each volunteer at his first orientation session. He is asked to take it home and study it



and be responsible for knowing its contents. After the orientation sessions, our coordinator of volunteers, who has also taken part in the orientation sessions, arranges a suitable assignment for each volunteer based upon the volunteer's interest and skills, and the Center's vacancies. Generally, the volunteer is assigned to a supervisor and given a definite schedule at the close of the orientation sessions. Usually, three hours of regular volunteer work are required per week; only rarely do we permit a volunteer to work longer.

For those individuals who require more training, such as that needed to work in the remedial reading program, special arrangements are made during the orientation sessions. Those who will be immediately plugged into a vacant position are introduced to their supervisor, who explains the workings of that particular program and assigns another volunteer to show the newcomer the ropes for a night or two. After a month or two, the supervisor asks the new volunteer to fill out an evaluation form with him, in order to determine how well things are going. The volunteer holds the pencil, while they go down the sheet together. The questions are designed to be as nonthreatening as possible and refer to attendance, punctuality, and knowledge of procedures. Many questions are concerned in one way or another with how well the Youth Service Center accomplished its task of training and supervising. The form basically gives both the supervisor and the volunteer an opportunity to discuss training, performance, and personal qualities in dealing with adolescent youth. The volunteer's strengths and weaknesses are discussed, and appropriate action is taken when necessary. If the volunteer seems unsuited for the job, we may either transfer him to another position or terminate his service to the agency. Having such a form helps keep the supervisory staff on their toes, since they are being evaluated as well as the volunteer.

Job descriptions for the various positions at the Center help the volunteer know how much is expected of him and how far he can go. For instance, there are volunteer positions for physicians, psychologists, social workers, nurses, laboratory technicians, and attorneys. Since the Center deals with many serious



problems, it is important to have highly qualified people doing what they are trained to do. Other positions, such as remedial reading instructors, discussion group leaders, and older "brothers" and "sisters," are filled by volunteers who are given specific training and careful supervision. Paraprofessionals who want to do jobs they are untrained for must know how far they can go before a matter becomes someone else's responsibility. The supervisor helps keep everyone doing what he is supposed to do and not playing amateur psychologist.

We, of course, look for those who have particular qualities and skills so that we can move them into more responsible positions later on. One way to keep talented paraprofessionals is to help them advance to more challenging responsibilities.

Each week night the Center is in operation with a team made up completely of volunteers. A paid staff member drops by later in the evening to keep abreast of things, but his presence is not necessary for the nightly operation of the Center. Through a system of supervisors and program coordinators, we maintain close contact with the workers. While each evening has a supervisor who is responsible for making the evening run smoothly, each volunteer, be he trained or untrained, has a coordinator who is responsible for the quality and technical aspects of the job he has to perform. Thus, for most positions there are at least two people concerned with the performance and morale of a particular volunteer. For instance, a physician is responsible to the Medical Director and to the evening supervisor, a group discussion leader is responsible to the group discussion coordinator and to the supervisor on duty the night his group meets. This dual system helps us keep in close touch with the volunteer, a vital factor if good morale and high standards are to be maintained.

Working closely with the Director is the coordinator of volunteers, herself a volunteer, who works with the supervisors and program coordinators to fill vacancies, make new assignments, and generally keep alert to problems that may arise. Our coordinator of volunteers is a very warm and sensitive woman who does a great deal to help the volunteers feel needed and cared

for. Many times hurt feelings have been healed through her gentle manner.

While the Director has to keep his fingers on the budget, program, community relations, and a host of other things, the coordinator of volunteers who is, for the most part, free from other administrative duties, can provide the warmth and personal attention all volunteers require if they are to continue. It is safe to say that without large amounts of T.L.C. our agency simply could not be in existence.

In order to keep track of our volunteers and to determine the characteristics of our volunteer population, we have developed a method of processing information on them by using the same computer program that we use to process the data accumulated on our young people. This system enables us to collect and process demographic data, training and experience, characteristics, placement within the agency, and an evaluation of the effectiveness of each volunteer. This is done periodically and when the volunteer leaves the agency. We want to know why our volunteers leave us, and by comparing their reasons with other volunteers' opinions, determine whether we fell short in our responsibility to them. We also want to determine the degree of turnover as compared with other agencies and from year to year within our agency.

It has been said many times that volunteerism is a two-way street. At the Youth Service Center we try to keep that always in mind. We try to provide clearly defined job descriptions so that the worker knows what is expected of him and can be challenged to do top-quality work. When he does well, there is appropriate recognition; when his performance is below standard, we try to provide adequate feedback there as well.

Regulating what and how the volunteer contributes is relatively easy to do. Regulating the volunteer's feeling of satisfaction is more difficult, since the motives behind volunteer work vary so much from person to person. What the volunteer gets in return for his labors will largely determine how dedicated he will be and how long he will stay with the agency.

One of the things that inspire our volunteers is their close

contact with troubled youth. Some of the young people have such obvious needs that any personal contact with them is a moving experience. Being part of a crisis center carries with it a certain amount of drama which volunteers find stimulating. Although we do not talk about confidential cases, there is still a sense of urgency in providing services to troubled youth.

In addition, we encourage a team approach among our volunteers. We want the evenings to run smoothly, with procedures being followed in a relaxed but efficient manner. When a person joins the team, he is made welcome; if he is absent, he is missed. After a while the team on any one particular night finds itself a closely knit group with a high sense of team spirit. If an evening lacks this *esprit de corps* we start analyzing things to determine what is wrong. We start with a gripe session and try to accept the criticisms in a constructive light and make adjustments where possible.

Recently our physicians began to complain about minor things. One mentioned that he was beginning to feel obligated to volunteer. This and other comments indicated to us that their interest was flagging, possibly because they were not getting enough personal satisfaction from their volunteer labors. We started meeting with them and found out that they would come in, do their pelvic examinations, serologies, and so on, then leave as soon as the last patient was seen. They were simply functioning as technicians, getting very little social support from the rest of the staff, and experiencing little of the drama and excitement which come from talking with young people in a relaxed manner.

The reason for their loss of interest, we felt, lay not in their service as physicians but in not gaining any personal rewards from their volunteer work. The remedy we developed was five-fold:

1. To make an effort to involve each physician in informal discussions with the young people outside the confines of the clinic
2. To try to get each physician involved with the volunteer staff so that he would feel like a member of an enthusiastic team

3. To give the physicians feedback, through a newsletter, on the quantity and characteristics of the patients they saw at the Center that month
4. To have the Director take two or three physicians at a time to lunch, in order to get to know them better as individuals
5. To foster professional growth by sponsoring seminars on topics pertaining to treating adolescent youth so that they would grow in their awareness and skill which, in turn, would help them in their private practice.

These steps to improve the morale of our physicians could also be applied with some slight changes to every phase of our operation. What the physicians require in personal attention is no different from what all other volunteers require. Of course, it takes time, patience, and hard work, but if the decision has been made that volunteer help is essential to the operation of an agency, and not simply a "something-for-nothing" appendage to the main thrust of the program, then the time and work spent are justified and will result in many benefits other than hours worked and a statistical summary of services provided. In our case, we have no choice, since there are simply no funds available to hire a staff that could do the work our volunteers are doing. Even if we did find some pot of gold at the rainbow's end, we would not change our current policy, since we have been so pleased with the operation thus far. We do have a policy for paid staff so that there is no misunderstanding. That is, whenever a particular position becomes too demanding in terms of the time required to do the job well and where continuity is demanded, such as when working on a daily basis with heroin addicts, we try to find the funds to hire the staff to do the job. In a social agency such as ours, there are a few areas in which a paid staff member is required, due to the crisis nature of our work and the demands placed upon us to follow through on difficult cases. At present there are two full-time and two part-time professional staff members and one and a half secretaries who keep up with the paper work.

At the Youth Service Center we keep an accurate record of the

number of hours worked by our volunteers. At our annual meeting, instead of having a special speaker, we focus all our attention on the volunteers who have made the year a success. We present a certificate for 100 hours of service, a gold seal for 300 hours, and a gold lapel pin with the letters "YSC" for 500 hours of service. We also select for a special award one or two individuals who have done outstanding work.

Every new organization has growing pains, and the Youth Service Center is no exception. Many potential snags were avoided by being open to suggestions and by being flexible. From the beginning, our goals have been fairly clear-cut, but the method by which we achieve these goals has required some midcourse maneuvers.

A major hurdle was a situation in which a volunteer's personal problems were affecting his work at the Center. Through this experience, we developed our volunteer evaluation form and procedures for airing grievances. In short, the volunteer enjoys all the rights and privileges of a paid employee, but is also held just as responsible for his productivity and adherence to agency policy. By carefully defining what is expected of our staff, we provide a standard by which we can evaluate all our workers, thus greatly aiding in the development of a strong, unified organization.

Another problem arises when we utilize a volunteer with exceptional ability beyond a reasonable limit, and therefore put too big a strain on him. A few times we have yielded to the eagerness of a volunteer to take on too much responsibility and have found ourselves overly indebted to him. In each case, the individual had personal needs which he was trying to resolve by throwing himself into a project, only to find that when the project was over, there was still the void to be filled. Then, when the agency could not continue to meet these needs, there were feelings of disappointment and rejection. We have, therefore, had to be very careful to make sure that eager volunteers do not get too tired or overextend themselves. A team approach avoids the problem, although it takes more time to get the team organized and on its way. On the other hand, more people get in-

volved and hurt feelings are avoided. Related to this is another snag we now try to avoid; that is, allowing the volunteer to get involved with fund-raising activities that leave him too tired to enjoy the work he volunteered to do. It is very easy to use the same old reliable volunteers over and over again and run the risk of burning them out.

Other problems we are experiencing include: getting the Board of Directors involved; developing a broad base of financial support; and staying sensitive to the feelings of the population that we serve and the dedicated individuals who serve them.

Working with the volunteers at the Youth Service Center has been one of the highlights of my professional career. I have seen, at first hand, people demonstrating their love for their neighbor by unselfishly giving their time and energy. I often feel very inadequate as I observe some of our volunteers giving so much of themselves to young people who are not in a position to give very much in return.

As I reflect on the dedication of our volunteers, I am reminded of what the Jewish philosopher Hillel said 2,000 years ago:

If I don't do it, who will do it?

If I don't do it now, when will I do it?

If I do it for my own sake only, of what good is it?

# *Social Work-Police Cooperation for Crime Prevention*

HARVEY TREGER

THERE IS CLEARLY an urgent need to develop a partnership and cooperation between the components of the criminal justice system—law enforcement, the prosecution, the courts, and corrections—as well as with the professionals operating therein. It is believed that an interdependent, cooperative effort by professionals in the criminal justice system will produce a higher yield than independent and separate efforts.

Corrections has been associated with approximately one half of the system. Aside from some efforts in the federal courts to rehabilitate juveniles at the point of prosecution, almost no attempt has been made to introduce corrections until after adjudication when a person is already half way through the system. Is there any wonder that the system is overloaded at one end? Corrections should be introduced at the earliest possible point. This can be accomplished by having a treatment-oriented person on the law-enforcement team.

Considerable emphasis is being given to the idea that as offenders become more involved in the criminal justice system, most of them do not improve, but even become worse. In other words, the system is not having a beneficial effect on offenders. The President's Crime Commission report indicates that there is great need to avoid having the criminal justice system impede rehabilitation. Every effort should be taken to improve the individual, and the minimum goal should be to guard against his be-

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coming worse. It is thought that stigmatization and labeling of an individual may be major factors in compounding the already serious problems and feelings of alienation.

An example is a young man whose parents always called him "Do Wrong." He tried to please them and fulfilled their prophecy. When seen by the probation officer he had already accumulated quite a record.

Another crucial factor in impeding rehabilitation may be the delay in providing social services to those individuals who need them and who have a good probability of benefiting from them at low risk to the community. Experience indicates that offenders rarely have received help for their problems prior to their entrance into the criminal justice system. Hence, social services to this group may have been delayed far beyond the critical point of need. "Obviously, the sooner the required help is provided, the better are the expected results."<sup>1</sup>

The entry of a professional social service worker can provide a needed expertise to the client group and inputs into the police system. In this way a police department can make its services more complete and expand its protection to the community. The President's Crime Commission report states that "it appears desirable to consider how police departments, as well as individual policemen, can broaden their roles."<sup>2</sup> As a result, the community may be able to develop a new use of the police department.

The complexity and ever changing nature of our society call for a reexamination of the roles of all professionals. The professional police officer and the professional social worker can help each other in this task. Through their cooperation and work on common problems new and needed services to the community can be given.

A new and major trend for corrections is becoming discernible: it will work with the criminal justice system but also will

<sup>1</sup> Mordecai Kaffman, "Short-Term Family Therapy," in Howard Parad, ed., *Crisis Intervention* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1965), p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society: a Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 98.

establish another direction—a direction away from the system. Diversion programs at earlier and still earlier points will be tested. Not only will corrections need to move its resources and involvement to earlier points, but the social welfare facilities must change their approaches so they will be able to give appropriate services when they are needed the most. Experience indicates that law enforcement has two major dissatisfactions in regard to the treatment community: they are not available when needed, and they give no feedback.

Wheaton is a middle-class, junior executive community of 33,000 whose residents have an average income of \$12,324. A predominantly Protestant community twenty-six miles from Chicago's Loop, it has a small minority group population and is the county seat for Du Page County. Niles, with a population of about 32,000, borders on the northwest section of Chicago. It is largely Catholic, upper working- and lower-middle-class with an average income of about \$11,060. Both communities share the distinction of receiving the "All American City" award.

On March 1, 1970, the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission and the city of Wheaton funded a three-year action-research grant which placed a social service unit in the Wheaton Police Department. On April 1, 1971, a unit was added at the Niles Police Department. It was part of the original design to have two different community police departments.

Each social service unit consists of two professional social workers who supervise four second year graduate social work students from the Jane Addams Graduate School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. The students, who receive stipends from the grant and free tuition from the university, work a minimum of twenty-four hours a week with some irregular hours, to meet client needs as early as possible. Both professionals and students provide four basic services:

1. Social assessments to law enforcement and the client
2. A twenty-four-hour crisis intervention service
3. Short-term and some long-term individual counseling, marital counseling, family group therapy, and group service
4. Referral to community agencies.

All students are carefully screened by the police chief, the professional social work staff, and the project director to determine their interest in the project and their ability for developing positive relationships with the police and community residents. In addition to the direct-service staff there is a full-time research associate. Police, legal, and psychiatric consultants are used as needed.

It is the purpose of the project to demonstrate that by speedy social assessment and early intervention, continued overloading of the criminal justice system can be alleviated and rehabilitation initiated immediately. Some nonviolent misdemeanants could then be diverted into the more appropriate social resource network of the community, or directed to the services of a social worker in the police department. Individuals referred to the project have problems which appear to be largely social and psychological in nature and in the long run will require social remedies. They are the runaways, truants, incorrigibles, emergency cases of mental illness, persons with alcohol problems, with family and marital problems which come to the attention of the police, as well as minor thieves, drug users, and vandals. The most prevalent offenses of juveniles seen by the project are running away, theft, or drug abuse. Among adults, the majority have mental and emotional problems or marital and family problems which in some instances are masked by the complaint that brought them to the attention of the police.

A deferred prosecution program has been innovated with the state's attorney and the court for selected adult violators in Du Page County who could benefit from the services of the project. The defendant's case is *nolle prossed* by the state's attorney. After a period of services and nonviolative behavior the case is closed. This program has been in operation over one year and is the first treatment-oriented program for adult nonviolent misdemeanants in Illinois.

The official objectives of the project can be summarized in three areas: direct services; interchange between police and social worker; relationship with the community agencies, organizations, and resources.

Who are the people being referred to the project? What are their needs for service? What services are given? How soon after police contact and referral are services provided? How many require crisis services and at what hours? What is the average number of sessions and what is the average length of time spent in sessions for each client (includes relatives, community agencies, etc.)? How many clients committed another offense while on the program? How is the client functioning at termination? In regard to our interchanges with police, we are researching feedback: Who initiates and receives it? How can it be improved?

An outside researcher was engaged to study police-social work attitudes (fourteen and a half months after the project became operational at Wheaton and three and a half months at Niles). This study had as its goals: to reduce the risk of project staff research bias; to obtain from a relatively detached source data which could be shared with other police departments; and to apply the field study findings to improvements of ongoing services and relationships. A major finding of the study was that police attitudes had come almost full circle from apprehensive and, in some instances, hostile, to 97 percent positive for the project.

The third area in which we are collecting data is our relationship with the community. In this regard we seek to determine what agencies we are in contact with, for what purposes, as well as to identify the gaps in services in the community. Everyone involved in the project participates in the research—social workers, students, secretaries, research associate, and police.

In locating the project sites, nineteen police departments were visited. These communities were selected to present a range of clients with varying characteristics which would provide a basis for making comparisons and developing some generalizations regarding this interdisciplinary effort. A professional-technical advisory team was formed to give technical consultation and guidance, individually and as a group, on the development of the proposal and on the research, organization, and service components of the project. The advisory team consists of eight members who provide a range of expertise in administration (police

and social services), direct treatment, research, and law. A number of team members are faculty colleagues who proved helpful in developing faculty support for the project.

The advisory team developed four criteria for selection of a community: (1) strong interest in the project; (2) strong support for the project, including financial support; (3) the kinds of clients needed to test our project objectives; and (4) space available within the police department. During the search for suitable sites for the project and while funding was in the balance, a progression of obstacles was presented by colleagues and others:

1. It is a good idea but it may not get funded—too many pieces to put together.
2. No police department would ever accept this proposal.
3. It won't work out. There are too many new relationships, the project challenges traditional police roles, and social workers would lose their identities by working in a police department.
4. Once in a police department, social workers would be assigned to a role which would not disturb the police power relationships.

It can be reported now that:

1. The project has been funded.
2. The police have warmly accepted the project.
3. The project is working beautifully without any role conflict.
4. Although there is no power struggle, we have learned that both the police and the social workers had been apprehensive that they would lose their identities, be swallowed up and taken over by the other group. Of course, this has not occurred. Our awareness of the possibilities of cooptation may be the best assurance that it will not occur.

The decision to begin the project in Wheaton came about as a result of Chief of Police A. Lee Applegate's desire to initiate a community relations program which would help parents and youths to improve communication. The mayor of Wheaton saw the program as meeting community needs and said that "if it helped one person it would be worth it."

The project was phased to begin at the first site one year be-

fore the second site became operational. Actually, this arrangement was necessary because of funding limitations for the first year. As it turned out, necessity again became the mother of invention. The preliminary six-months planning period enabled us to become acquainted with the community and to foster beginning community acceptance and support for the project. Acceptance by the police officers, crucial to the success of the project, came quickly after a brief period of testing and after we could demonstrate that we were, in fact, helpful to the clients and the officers; that we followed the chain of command and learned to function within the structure of the host agency. The gradual development of the project seems to have facilitated acceptance by the police. Experiences were shared as we worked out the operational procedures together. Our goal from the start has been to collaborate easily in order to offer a high-quality service.

At first, confidentiality was a mutual concern. We learned from the police, however, of their ethical code in regard to the protection of confidentiality. A leak of confidential information could affect the welfare of the client and possibly the police officer's very survival. On the other hand, the police who were concerned initially about the social workers' ability to hold information in confidence learned of our ethics and values. As we got to know each other, trust became established.

Our policy regarding confidentiality has been to communicate in writing (with the signed consent of the client) a social assessment and treatment recommendation to the police. At the outset of our client contact, we inform each person that whatever is specifically discussed with us is confidential unless his behavior violates a law or is injurious to himself or others. We then discuss any law-violative behavior with the individual, believing that it is sound to support him in taking the initiative in contacting the police. If, however, he is unable to do so it is our belief that with his knowledge the social worker is obligated to advise the police. We realize that this is a sticky issue and may seem contrary to the philosophy of social work. Yet our view is that to conceal law-violative behavior may be destructive: it



places the social worker in the position of an accomplice; it does not protect the community; and it defeats the goal of developing more socially responsible behavior in the client. Further, a person may benefit from coming to grips with the consequences of his behavior.

There is a myth that social work and police work are contradictory in principle. We have found this notion to be untrue; they both serve the community and can complement each other as demonstrated in the social service project. Recently, a police sergeant said, "What we can't handle, we give to you." By the same token, the social worker may need the police to handle certain cases in order that the best possible service may be offered.

Two examples of police-social work cooperation are:

Mrs. R. is about 40 years old. She is an alcoholic. Her husband is in the hospital for cancer surgery. Neighbors complain about Mrs. R.'s knocking on their doors in a drunken stupor to get money. The social worker went to her home with the officer for an initial interview. The authority of the officer's position aided in this situation. Mrs. R. was seen supportively by the social worker in her home until her husband returned from the hospital.

Mary, age 15, called the station and said she was a runaway, but she refused to return home as her mother would pull her hair. The social worker called the mother, who refused to cooperate and come in for an interview. After a visit by the police officer, who pointed out the mother's responsibility for her daughter, the social worker was able to have regular appointments with the mother and effect changes in the mother-daughter conflict.

The information given to the social worker by the police officer when he makes a referral to the project has been extremely useful. Police officers are trained observers of people and have much valuable information about their relationship patterns and life situations which contribute important data to social study, assessment, and the formulation of recommendations and dispositions. In smaller communities where police officers become familiar with families over a period of time, it is especially important to get his kind of feedback. We accept the officer's information as reliable and valid as we do our own, confirming or refining our evaluations only as new information is revealed. As



a result of our experience we have come to respect the officers' ability to identify people who have problems, are unable to cope with them, and need treatment services.

Working right in the police department has facilitated interchanges between police and social workers. Discussing client problems formally and informally as we participate at departmental staff meetings, drink coffee in the squad room, and lunch together has helped us to become better acquainted, accepted, and trusted. One of the unintended consequences of our interrelationship has been the use of the social worker by the police to seek some consultation in checking out their own family relationships as well as to obtain help for relatives. The sensitivity and concern of these officers for their families are impressive, giving an image of people who care. The use of a social worker as a mental health resource for personal consultation suggests a new use of the social worker within the law-enforcement team.

A healthy interdependence between police and social workers began from the inception of the project. We first sought the guidance of the chief of police in seeking support needed for funding from the political structure. Later we were given further guidance in learning about influential community figures and social welfare agencies to contact. In most of our contacts with social agencies we took an officer with us so that he could learn about the program as we explained it to others. In Niles, Sergeant Wichlac had already established excellent agency relationships which we were able to capitalize on. This interdependence had been broadened by daily interchanges and consultations with police and social workers as well as by the direct services to clients referred by the police to the project. The interdependence between law enforcement and social work has led to a complimentary role functioning so that the two professional groups can use their expertise to the benefit of the community.

The social service project has been operating in Wheaton since June 4, 1970. We have opened 271 cases and presently have 106 active cases. At Niles our cumulative case count since May 4, 1971, is 149 with an active caseload of 66. We have given services to people from nine to ninety-one years of age. At

Wheaton 50 percent of the clients are juveniles, while at Niles 66 percent are juveniles.

In early 1972 a survey was made of the twenty-seven municipal police departments in Du Page County to obtain data on the number of referrals to juvenile court in 1969, 1970, and 1971. Twenty-three departments reported. Comparisons were made between Wheaton and ten towns with 10,000 or more population. In comparing data for 1971 with those for 1969 (a year before the project began), we have found that with the exception of Wheaton, all towns in Du Page County averaged a 36 percent increase in referrals to the juvenile court while Wheaton referrals decreased by 30 percent. Even though there are many variables to consider, such as : a police department's trying to handle its own youth problems rather than referring to juvenile court; with expanding departments there may be more juvenile contacts; frustration between the officer and the juvenile court, resulting in the officer's making fewer court referrals. We are hopeful that further research may firm up an association between the project and the decreasing referral rate to juvenile court.

We are finding a high percentage of residential mobility: 47 percent to 49 percent of our clients have moved within the past five years. We plan to check this data against census information to determine if these rates are significant. We are discussing the possibility of developing orientation groups through the "Welcome Wagon" to learn more about the needs of services for new arrivals. In this way we would hope to move prevention of delinquency to earlier points than police contact.

Many people have expressed concern over the utilization of social services in a police department. One piece of data which sheds some light on this question is that 65.2 percent of the clients in Niles have kept all their appointments, while the figure in Wheaton is even higher—73.3 percent. There is not in our experience to date the degree of resistance, often formidable, that one finds with persons who have gone further into the system.

What have we learned?

1. The police can make an extremely useful contribution into

the work of the social worker. Information about people and their families helped social workers to make assessments and begin treatment at the earliest possible time. Police officers are skillful at identifying people with problems who require professional services. Furthermore, the police officer can use his authority to stimulate a desire for services when internal motivation is not present.

2. The social worker can make very useful inputs into the law-enforcement team by providing an alternative to dropping the case or referring it to court. The social worker in a police department can narrow the service gap and in many instances give immediate service and feedback which assist the officer in his disposition of a case. The social worker is able to help people with their problems and thereby alleviate recycling to law enforcement and overloading the courts.

3. The results of the project indicate that a police-social work team model can alleviate the general problem of overloaded law-enforcement agencies, courts, and probation services.

4. There is a need for social agencies to reorient their services so that they will be more available to law enforcement and to the people who are coming to their attention.

5. The university can play a vital role in the community in innovating, training, and research. Our training of graduate students will not only help to supply manpower needs in this new field of practice, but will train a cadre of students who will influence the practice of social agencies toward improved communication and service to law enforcement and people who are in need of services.

# *Social Work with American Indians*

EVELYN LANCE BLANCHARD

WE REPRESENT three different tribes, Bannock, Lakota, and Laguna, and each of these tribes has its specific characteristics which make it like itself and no one else. Each tribe also has many things which are like those in other tribes or which it shares with other tribes. The most important thing that we share is a belief in a Great Spirit. Through Him our fathers learned how things should be in this world. Through Him our fathers learned how to keep things in harmony. This harmonious approach to life is central to the Indian way. It is important that all Indians remember this in their work, and it is important that non-Indians learn this and use it in their work with Indians to the best of their ability.

It has been some time since an Indian community could survive in his world with little discord. The problems which face us today are like those facing many other groups in this country. Our unemployment is high; our education is inferior; our children are hungry; and many are clothed in a blanket of hopelessness. The fibers that held us together have been systematically attacked and many have broken. We see as our responsibility the task of catching these loose fibers, tying them together, and supporting those which have remained intact.

The way in which this is accomplished is the important difference between social work with Indians and that with non-Indians. One's approach to a client might be compared with that of the Indian hunter. The hunter does not stalk his deer. Instead he waits for his deer to come to him. He has prepared himself before the hunt and he knows that if things are right, food will

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be delivered to him. This same approach is the most productive way to approach an Indian client. Time must be spent on getting acquainted and waiting for the moment when the worker and client are together. How long this takes depends on the individuals involved. Some people can come together very quickly, others take a longer time, and some never do. Knowing when to make various moves is an intuitive process. All of us have this ability, but in many it has gone unused in favor of sterile rationalism.

A friend of mine who is a very good worker by anyone's standard contracted to do a social study of a secluded Indian tribe several summers ago. He approached his interviewees in the best social work style, telling who he was, why he was there, and what he intended to do. The response he received was no response. For three weeks he worked hard attempting to communicate with the people. He finally decided to make one last attempt. He went to one of the homes early in the morning, seated himself under the sunshade and began visiting, first with the children then with the adults. At the end of the day he had completed his schedule in that one family. The next day the rest of the villagers were ready to answer his questions. He learned that the people were not so concerned with what he did but with who he was. When he was willing to step out of his protected role of social worker he could be encountered as a human being. Who is a person who asks you questions and writes things down?

In my tribal way of living it is not a good thing to be boastful. One need not prove or proclaim his goodness to another. If one is good it is known; if one is bad it is known. To have someone else boast about you is uncomfortable. This has implications for some of the techniques of the supportive method.

The extended family is still the important unit in my tribe. Relatives are not seen as meddlers. To exclude family members from one's work is a mistake. For someone who thinks he knows a great deal this is a very humbling but necessary experience. Seldom is one's client seen alone. Usually a parent, aunt, or uncle is present. It is required that the relatives be involved in terms of their understanding and contributions.

Formerly, social workers were not needed here. The family was able to work through any difficulties that arose. Times are changing the family, and many of the supports that existed decades ago are either weak or no longer exist. It is the responsibility of the worker to help the family repair this undergirding. To do this one must enter into this unit and become like a relative. A relative is someone with whom there is a strong bond and a responsibility. Being a newcomer into this unit, the worker can sometimes spot the weak areas more quickly and accurately than the other members. The worker must be careful that he does not seem to be too knowledgeable. Knowledge and wisdom are two different things. The worker must also find his role in this family. The role that I have found most comfortable to me and to others is that of adviser-facilitator.

The giving of advice is not seen as bad or pretentious behavior in the Laguna tribe. We have remained alive and strong for centuries in large part due to the advice we received from our elders. If the worker enters with this attitude he is not met with resistance. He is given credit for his ability. There is no jockeying for position. He helps people express their discomfort; he voices his understanding, checks this out with relatives, and helps pull the family together to bring things back in order. The relatives along with the client must be the ones to work things out because the correction will or will not be supported by them after the worker has gone. The worker advises the family from his vantage point. Indian families, like others, can get locked in position and can make use of new inputs. Because of the worker's training and experience he is allowed a special place. A certain amount of respect is given to his accomplishment and knowledge. The situation is improved if the worker is also wise, but wisdom is not always present in people who are young.

In his role as adviser the worker offers ideas and suggestions. It does not matter if the worker does not understand everything. He allows himself to be used as a gauge upon which the family can measure the usefulness and rightness of their equalizing efforts. Knowing where one is at all times is not the important



thing, but feeling that the place where one is, is all right is very important. Too much questioning closes doors. Some things are, and one need not ask the why. Some people understand this; other people never will. The worker is expected to give advice out of his knowledge and experience. His personal life experiences are very important tools in his work. He must be willing to share himself in this way. Uninvolvement and detachment are stumbling blocks here.

To push one's client toward independence from his family is a serious mistake. In my tribe, relationships are tightly interwoven, and yet people are very independent. Workers are constantly amazed that young children are allowed to make important decisions for themselves. A ten-year-old may decide that he wants to go to boarding school. When the parents are asked about their thinking in reference to his decision their response is usually, "This is something he has decided to do." His decision is respected. If he goes and decides that he does not like the school, his decision to return home is also respected. Anyone knows that one cannot grow in a place that is not good for him. It is important to keep this respect alive in a family. Only when there is this kind of respect is there true freedom.

Family ties extend far beyond the extended family. One's place in the community is further determined by clan relationships. Workers are sometimes either forgetful or ignorant of these bonds. People have their roles and responsibilities. When someone drops his, this causes an imbalance in the web of his relationships. It is this web of dependence and responsibility which holds us together.

Only recently have some non-Indians come to recognize their inability to help Indians. Special projects have allowed the hiring of medicine men as members of the helping team. Perhaps those who have read *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* can recall the incident when Roman Nose rode back and forth before a line of soldiers who were firing on him. He was protected by a power. This was a great power. Many tribes still have this power today. I have sensed many times in my work that I could not help. At this point arrangements are made with the family to



have the member helped by the medicine man in the village. There are special doings which help people get right with themselves. It is important that workers support these people.

We are an open people. When we choose not to share with others it is done out of fear. We have many great and powerful things which cannot be lost or destroyed. We believe that our possession of these things adds strength to the world. Our forefathers found it difficult to believe that a people needed to have physical possession of objects. This was their downfall. However, the lesson has been learned and we guard what we have. We will share with those who learn our way. We do not ask that you become like us but let what we have enhance what you already are.

# *Social Indicators for the Aged*

BERNARD L. DWORSKY and  
ROBERT A. WILSON

GROWING OLD is a fundamental fact of life. Yet in American society, this stage of the life cycle has gone through profound change but has received relatively little interest or concern. In other cultures, and even somewhat in the America of long ago, the aged were an honored segment of our society, in the present youth-oriented "now" culture, the aged have had to strive increasingly to maintain their identity, and have faced difficulty in demonstrating their condition to society. It is only recently that greater awareness and attention have been focused on the whole process of aging and the problems associated with it. The White House Conferences on Aging and similar state conferences are demonstrations of this new awareness. The social indicator study conducted in Delaware by the Division of Urban Affairs, University of Delaware, under contract with the state's Bureau of the Aging,<sup>1</sup> was a further effort to obtain more information and call attention to the problems of the aged.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the study was to assist the state of Delaware in the development of a statewide plan for the aged by determining the status and needs of the aged in that state, as indicated by a social indicator survey devised and outlined in guidelines set forth by the Administration on Aging, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The authors wish to indicate their recognition of the contribution provided by many members of the Urban Affairs staff, particularly the assistance and cooperation of Mrs. Brenda Smith and Miss Patricia Dougherty who provided an excellent and dedicated effort during the entire study and to whom we are gratefully indebted.

<sup>2</sup> The terms "aged" and "elderly" were defined as those persons age sixty-five and over.

## THE SOCIAL INDICATOR CONCEPT

Social indicators<sup>3</sup> are tools for evaluating the social health of a population. The basic principle is to develop standard measures which allow the comparison of different groups of people from different places at different points in time. The general technique is borrowed from economics and medicine, both of which have employed methods of gauging trends over time.

The importance of the social indicator is that it offers a new major tool for analyzing social conditions and social change. As applied here, the term "social indicators" refers to certain measures of the social conditions in which the aged live. The specific indicators considered in the survey were those areas that measure the adequacy of, and satisfaction with, housing, social relations, life satisfaction, health status, economic well-being, and independence.

Although a considerable amount of data has already been generated about the aged, the social indicator concept differs in several ways. The social indicators go into greater depth on the attitudes of the aged, their satisfaction, comfort, or convenience in each of these areas. Ordinary population information, on the other hand, typically includes only descriptive information on age, sex, race, income, and so forth. The social indicator survey obtains a comprehensive assessment of specific problems so that specific recommendations can be made.

It is important to point out that the utility of the social indicator concept increases as it is used in combination with census data and information provided by agencies or services, caseloads, and costs. When used in combination with this type of information, social indicators can assist greatly in policy formulation, planning, program development, and evaluation.

Social indicators can do more than just satisfy our interest about the social well-being of the aged. They provide an aware-

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Toward a Social Report*, 1969; U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Administration on Aging, Social and Rehabilitation Service, *Social Indicators for the Aged; a Guide for State Agencies on Aging*, 1971.

ness and visibility of specific social problems. They can provide insight into how social conditions are changing, and they can provide, with more refinement, a valuable tool for better evaluation of what public and private policies or programs are accomplishing.

The social indicator concept can be useful in many respects. It can provide to the public and to those especially concerned with particular groups, such as the aged, factual data that can be useful for over-all evaluation of social conditions, including comparisons between geographical areas or with other states. Social indicators can be used to identify the social conditions of particular target populations, or to focus on particular areas of concern. Finally, indicators can aid in the establishment of goals and priorities by demonstrating through comparisons of the status of particular segments of the population or particular areas of concern the relative inequities which may exist.

The thrust of the social indicator concept and its application in Delaware was to assess the status and needs of the aged in certain social areas. Ultimately, its objective is to attain more informed public policy-making and an improvement in the quality of life for Delaware's aged.

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research design of the social indicator survey was set forth in the federal guidelines. However, modifications believed to be necessary were made by the Division of Urban Affairs in the final design.

All information was gathered by means of a questionnaire designed for the social indicator study.<sup>4</sup> Nearly fourteen hundred personal interviews were conducted during the summer of 1971 with aged persons living in private homes which were selected by area probability sampling techniques. Aged persons living in

<sup>4</sup> The Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies, American Rehabilitation Foundation, Minneapolis, with a grant from the Administration on Aging, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, developed a questionnaire. This instrument was pretested by a Greenleigh Associates, Inc. These organizations working together then prepared a revised questionnaire and subsequently a revised guidebook for a social indicator study.

public or private group quarters or institutions were excluded.

The indicator scores were derived from a series of individual questions relating to each indicator. The subjective health indicator, for example, is a composite score, based on a set of questions relating to respondents' perception of their own health. The objective health indicator, in contrast, is a composite score reflecting a series of questions as to number of days ill, disabilities, and so on. High indicator scores reflect comparatively good conditions; low indicator scores reflect comparatively poor conditions. The master and over-all social indicators were computed as the average of the individual indicators.

#### SURVEY RESULTS

This study was the initial attempt to implement the social indicator concept in Delaware. The basic objective was to create a series of indices which would monitor the social health of a human population in a given geographical area at a given time. Fundamental to the indicator notion is the comparison of various population groups over different points in time. Because this was the first time that a set of social indicators had been developed for the aging, no comparative information was available. Thus, the indicators compared the various geographical areas of the state. The final product is a comparative profile of the social well-being of the aged who reside in these areas.

The study reveals vast differences in the conditions under which the aged of different areas live. Throughout the state, the typical elderly person lives on an income which is close to the poverty level. He is worried constantly about being harassed or harmed by lawbreakers. He is troubled by the fact that those around him do not appear to respect the elderly. He finds it difficult to reach the services and facilities of the state. In spite of all these difficulties, he remains optimistic about his life.

The social indicators provide a profile which relates to the quality of life among the elderly. From this analysis it is possible to point out serious problems and service gaps and derive some idea of the elderly's own perception of their status and needs. To be truly a social indicator study, however, these characteristics must be measured at different points in time. Now that

there are available measures on the quality of housing, health, economic well-being, life satisfaction, social relations and activities, and independence, it is feasible to set measurable goals for the future. These must, in turn, be related to programs which are planned to improve the quality of life of the elderly. When objectives are established and programs implemented, it will be possible to measure the progress which has been made since the summer of 1971 when this study took place. We hope that this research has provided a benchmark, a baseline, from which social conditions and social change can be evaluated and progress can be assessed.

Social indicators, in and of themselves, cannot be used to set program priorities. Priorities will always remain a function of values, preferences, and decisions which reflect the norms, attitudes, and sentiments within a society or a given social group. However, we feel that the system of deriving the social indicators can be used to establish priorities. Western society has historically emphasized health and security as supreme values. Following this tradition, we have selected initially the indicators which reflect the conditions of health, housing, and economic sufficiency as those probably most salient for the priority-setting process.

#### SETTING GOALS AND PRIORITIES

Through comparing the various social indicator scores and the questions which make up each of them, it is possible to determine the relative severity of the social problems in a geographic area or demographic group. As a practical exercise in how these indicators might be used for priority-setting, we can examine several of the social indicator areas and suggest specific goals.

*Housing quality.* Out of the questions which make up the housing quality (objective) indicator we have selected two from which long-range goals and short-term objectives can readily be set. One question is: "Is there a private telephone or telephone readily available in this unit?"

*Goal:* Every household containing an elderly person should have a telephone readily available.

*Objective:* By the summer of 1974, when the next indicator study

will be conducted, every elderly household in the state of Delaware should contain a telephone.

*Process:* Within the various areas surveyed, the range of households not having a telephone varies from 1.4 percent to 7.1 percent. Particular attention should be given to the areas which have the largest proportion of households without a telephone. It is recommended that the State Bureau of Aging seek the cooperation of the telephone company in order to ensure that this objective is met. It will probably be necessary to secure legislation and special funding. In any event, it is necessary to set a goal which has both a time dimension and a numerical success dimension. That is, both the numbers of telephones and the date of operation must be clearly stated.

Another question on the housing indicator is: "Is there heat in every room in this unit?" In certain areas, over four out of ten elderly respondents indicated that some rooms in their house were not heated.

*Goal:* For the entire elderly population, every room in the living area of the house should be heated.

*Objective:* By the summer of 1973, the percentage of households without heat in all of the rooms should be reduced to approximately 10 percent.

*Process:* First, funds and service should be made available to all elderly individuals who need to make alterations in their physical plants. This might be accomplished either through federal or state grant monies or through some of the current programs, such as those operated by the housing agencies or authorities, the Model Cities program, and so on. Secondly, there must be more effective building codes. Provisions must also be made to ensure that there is adequate inspection and enforcement. The State Bureau of Aging, together with the various county, city, and state authorities must draw up such codes and, if necessary, lobby to get them adopted by the appropriate legislative bodies. Thirdly, it is suggested that when new housing units for the elderly are erected, it would be mandatory to require that every room be heated.

*Neighborhood quality.* The second indicator area is that of neighborhood quality. The items which make up this index are of two types. The first considers whether a respondent in a given neighborhood has been victimized by a serious crime. The second type of question, which is most numerous, assesses the various facilities which are available in the neighborhood, such as



public library, shops, banks, restaurants, doctors, clinics, and so forth.

*Goal:* Every elderly person should be secure in the knowledge that his neighborhood is safe from intruders and lawbreakers. Basic community facilities must be accessible to all elderly.

*Objective:* By the summer of 1973, the over-all percentage of the elderly who feel that their neighborhood is not safe from crimes should be reduced from 15 percent to 5 percent. Transportation programs must be initiated and/or expanded so that community facilities will be accessible to *all* the elderly.

*Process:* It should be noted that in the case of the objective which deals with feelings of safety from crime we have not suggested as ambitious an objective as the one which deals with transportation. This is because we believe that the feeling of security and protection from crime is in a more entrenched psychological domain which will be much more difficult to alter. On the other hand, access to community facilities seems largely a function of the transportation resources which are available to the elderly. Moreover, with respect to the conceptualization of the Administration on Aging's social indicator format, we feel that transportation is of such vital importance that it should be included as a separate indicator.

We suggest that transportation receive more emphasis because many of the issues which reflect on the availability and utilization of community services and resources are basically rooted in transportation deficiencies. This pattern of inaccessibility is particularly pronounced in those areas which are predominantly rural and suburban. Therefore, a new indicator area should be included which assesses the adequacy of transportation.

*Health.* One of the key questions in the health indicator is: "How many days were you ill during the last month?" The average number of sick days per month varied from 1.8, although this varied from 1.5 in the most urbanized area to 2.6 in one of the rural areas. It is interesting that the city of Wilmington, which can aptly be characterized as the most poverty-stricken area in the state, surprisingly has the lowest incidence of illness. The low level of illness is probably due largely to the availability of comprehensive medical care programs within the city; these are not available in any other area of the state.

*Goal:* The average number of days of illness per month should be reduced to 1.4 days per month.

*Objective:* By 1973, the average number of sick days in Kent County, which had an average 2.6 sick days per month, should be reduced to 1.4 days per month. Likewise, throughout the state this level of health should be achieved. It is questionable whether the number of sick days can be brought below this point. When the elderly were asked how many days they were ill, the duration of illness clustered in two distinct groups: those who were ill less than a week and those with illness of twenty-two days or more.

*Process:* Treatment programs must be instituted which will focus upon short-term acute illnesses and preventive health legislation, dealing with immunizations, health aides, and health crisis service, for example. Secondly, additional attention should be directed toward the longer-term illnesses to which the elderly are particularly susceptible. The State Department of Health and Social Services with the Bureau of Aging must acknowledge this goal and devise special programs to deal with public health for the elderly, particularly in those areas where illness among the elderly is concentrated.

The second set of questions which make up the objective health indicator delves into the relative difficulty of performing certain physical functions which are necessary in everyday life, such as climbing stairs, washing and bathing, getting out of the house, feeding oneself. These kinds of problems are particularly relevant to the aging, who often need special appliances and specialized health assistance. Stated another way, the problem is not so much one of treating a disease but of providing personal services, equipment, diagnosis, and treatment which meet the needs of the individual aging person. It will be necessary for the Bureau of Aging along with the State Department of Health and Social Services to make an inventory of persons needing health-related services (provision of special nutrition, for example), assess the programs which are required, and seek an appropriation from the legislature or a special grant from the federal government in order to achieve this objective.

*Economic well-being.* The mean annual family income of the state's elderly population was \$3,209. This is below any recognized standard of poverty.

*Goal:* It was recommended that minimum income standards established by the federal government be achieved for every elderly person.

*Objective:* A significant proportion (almost 40 percent) of the

state's elderly had an income below \$2,000 per year. It is recommended that by the summer of 1976 *no* elderly person in the state should have an annual income of less than \$2,000. This may involve moving toward some guaranteed annual retirement program similar to that in Great Britain or that which is prescribed in the various minimum income-maintenance proposals.

*Process:* The State Department of Health and Social Services should be responsible for implementing this program. This will involve determining the budget and income level for many elderly persons. In order to do this, there must first be an inventory of elderly persons, their incomes and resources. Next, a careful evaluation of federal, state, and private resources will have to be made. It is possible that this may only be achieved on a pilot basis at first. Over the long term, however, elimination of poverty among the elderly is a necessity. It will also be necessary to inaugurate tax relief programs (particularly in regard to property and income taxes), exemptions, exclusions, or credits, as another means of easing the financial burden of the elderly.

It must also be noted that the social indicator areas of housing, health, and economic well-being, as well as the area determined indirectly—transportation—are interlocking, interrelated, and interdependent. Thus, action in one makes an impact on the others in such a manner that a comprehensive, coordinated process approach is needed to fulfill any goals of improving the quality of life among the elderly. Concurrent with this, it is our recommendation that the Bureau of Aging be upgraded to a division status within the State Department of Health and Social Services with the necessary authority, funding, staffing, and accountability to meet the needs of the state's elderly population.

Finally, above all, these objectives should remain as an ever-present standard for measuring program success, from which social change and improvement in the quality of life of the elderly can be constantly monitored. We have charted a process through which social indicators for the elderly can be used as a planning tool in setting goals and objectives. Moreover, social indicators can prove to be an effective technique for program evaluation, ensuring accountability and establishing firm standards which were not feasible in previous eras.

We recognize the principal methodological difficulties associated with the technique of using social indicators, such as the weighting and scaling problems. Even with this recognition, we feel that the concept, with continued refinement and modification can be a most important tool for social scientists. We disagree with the contention that the technique cannot be used for program evaluation. Indeed, the direct opposite is suggested—that social action strategies must follow. Social indicators may be conceptualized as a quasi-experimental procedure at both the micro- and macrolevel. They can have great potential for contributing to sociological theory, particularly that of the sociology of aging, social problems, and social change. It remains for us but to press on and do so.

# *Puerto Rican Migrant Workers*

ALEJANDRO LA LUZ

SEVEN YEARS after the United States outlawed the hiring of foreign *bracero* labor to help pick the nation's crops, growers in the industrial Northeast rely on Puerto Rican migrants imported with the full blessing and support of the U.S. Department of Labor and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Under the Puerto Rican interstate migration program, some 20,000 Puerto Rican males each year sign a contract to enter a system of virtual peonage for six months. About the same number of Puerto Ricans come to the mainland each year to take farm employment outside this contract system. Concerned people who have observed these migrant labor camps describe the worst as "concentration camps unfit for dogs" where farmers exercise total dominion. Farmers intimidate their migrant workers by threatening them with arrest and jailing them on the slightest pretext if they dispute wages or criticize camp conditions. In many instances, farmers control local municipal bodies, which in turn assures them sympathetic treatment by local and state police.

Puerto Ricans are unique among farm workers because their government makes available to them a work agreement or "contract" that binds growers to provide minimum wages and working conditions. However, growers have used this work agreement as an argument for resisting unionization and better working conditions, contending that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico gives its workers all the protection they need.

To grower associations and U.S. Labor Department officials, the contract program is a model of migrant policy. The Shade

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Tobacco Growers Association in Connecticut boasts of its main base camp near Hartford ("the finest in the country") and a thirty-bed state-licensed hospital, which it established in 1951.

Yet the official good will that surrounds the contract program conceals some major inconsistencies. For one thing, an estimated 20,000 Puerto Ricans choose to work outside the contract system. And there is the fact that even a "model" program, such as that operated by the Connecticut Tobacco growers, loses half its workers over the season. The turnover is so high that the tobacco growers have to bring in 5,000 Puerto Ricans during the course of the season to fill 2,500 job slots. The Camden Regional Legal Services has charged that the civil rights of hundreds of migrant farm workers had been violated during the course of their summer employment. Attorney Max Rothman has numerous cases in his files to prove it.

Puerto Rican contract workers quickly discover that they have entered an institution that holds the decision-making power over virtually every aspect of their lives. They may be refused visits from friends or relatives while living at a camp. They may be charged exorbitant prices for liquor and cigarettes. In nearby towns, they are likely to be shunned by residents. Right at the entrance to the road leading to Windsor and Pequonock a sign warned that loitering was prohibited, but the Spanish version was purposely mistranslated to read insultingly: "*No se permiten vagos aqui*," which means, "No lazy people allowed here." Moreover, in many instances migrant workers are refused service in restaurants, stores, and barber shops.

On the job, they face denial of wages; failure to provide promised work; improper deductions from pay checks; inadequate housing and nutrition; arbitrary transfer and firing; insufficient health care; either no provision for education of their children or education that is not relevant to their culture and language; no legal services; and a thousand other problems too numerous to mention.

Puerto Rican migrants often do not know their rights under the work agreement, or they are inhibited about using them. They speak broken English or none at all. They find themselves



strangers in their own country, isolated in misery and herded like animals from farm to farm. The Commonwealth "migrant specialists" (there are eight regional offices in areas that receive the heaviest migration) are empowered to enforce the agreement. But there are only a few officials to inspect the hundreds of farms that employ these workers. They work on a case-by-case basis and, deluged with paper work and individual grievances, are unable to deal with broad injustices. In many instances, the migrant worker, tired of unresolvable problems, gives up in sheer frustration, quits, and goes off to join the Puerto Rican communities in New York, Philadelphia, Camden, Hartford. Sometimes they re-enter the migrant system as noncontract workers or "day-haul," piecework laborers. Such contract dropouts, whom no one keeps track of, add to the caseload burden of social agencies in the nation's most densely populated states.

The migrant farm worker, as has been repeatedly emphasized in all discussions of his plight, must work a maximum number of hours when work is available but at best receives a minimum reward for his toil. Indeed, he is customarily forced by economic necessity, and by the grower's dictates, to live on his employer's property. This unfortunate anomaly not only significantly diminishes the worker's personal freedom, but frequently forces him to solicit medical, legal, social, or other assistance from the surrounding community. Yet when he needs help, he has neither the time, the money, nor the transportation to leave the fields or the confines of the residential camp to seek out the assistance that he requires. Nevertheless, the needs of the migrant will not disappear simply because he is unable to leave the grower's premises. The needs remain, and so, if they are to be met, it becomes imperative that the members of the surrounding community have the freedom to communicate with and associate freely with these farm workers and to enter the camps without fear of reprisal. In short, outsiders should be free to render to the migrant worker and his family those basic educational, medical, legal, and other services that they so greatly require if their lives are to be improved ever so slightly.

It is not unusual for an individual who has attempted to assist



a migrant farm worker at his residence to relate the shock of encountering fences of barbed wire and electric cables, signs reading "Keep Out," "No Trespassing," "Private Property," "Non-residents Not Allowed," a pack of unfriendly watchdogs, a group of large and always strong workhands, the hard face of the foreman or the grower, and far too often the wrong end of a gun.

The isolation of a group of human beings is unnatural. Every human being reaches out by instinct to find some sense of identity, some roots, some place recognized as his, even if for just a little while. Even if he were able to leave the camp, his language barriers, color, cultural differences, and lack of education would make it nearly impossible for the migrant farm worker to establish any sort of life.

The result of the migrant's physical environment is the creation of a life style marked by extreme fear and psychological struggle. The migrant farm worker is trapped.

We may have lacked the necessary expertise and the instrument to attack these problems of migration, but we have studied the abuses. In the spring of 1971 we formed the New England Farm Workers Council, which was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity Migrant Division. The Council will allow Puerto Ricans to deal with the problems created by Puerto Rican migration. The problems are complex and demand solution.

The answer does not lie in encouraging the migrant farm worker to settle out of the migrant stream in the overpopulated ghettos of Hartford, Springfield, and New York. He will be faced with unemployment and welfare. His place will be taken by another migrant. This approach simply maintains the migrant stream and creates a social welfare stream.

The answer does not lie in only correcting the abuses of migrancy but in attacking the root of the problem—the rampant unemployment of the island of Puerto Rico that produces the need for migrancy.

# *Mental Health and Gay Liberation*

RONALD D. LEE

PERHAPS THE STRUGGLE of the various minority groups, the emergence of pride in the oppressed peoples of our society, will be the hallmark of our times. And perhaps the group with the most difficult task in achieving its goals, even in gaining recognition as a legitimate protesting minority, is the homosexual.

The homosexual is tired of being the scapegoat for society's sexual hang-ups. Ten percent of the adult population of the United States is "gay"—homosexually oriented. In San Francisco we are the third largest minority group in the city; a population composed of men and women, young, middle-aged, and old, working in all occupations, at every educational level, in every class, racial, and ethnic group. Some are striving toward self-actualization and some are struggling for survival; all are victims of society's oppression. We work and live, for the most part, unrecognized by our co-workers and employers, and traditionally that has been the only way for us to survive; for there are few places that will hire a known homosexual but many that will fire him. We are members of the minority that you probably will not recognize when you sit next to one of us on a bus and we are the minority legally and self-righteously scorned and oppressed when you do recognize us.

The gay liberation movement began in New York City, in a Greenwich Village bar called the Stonewall Inn. The bar was raided by the police in the summer of 1969—not an unusual occurrence. What was unusual was that for the first time in American history a group of homosexuals fought back instead of pas-

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sively accepting harassment as gay people have traditionally done. They were joined by street people and village residents in resisting the police, and from the sporadic street fighting that lasted three days, the gay liberation movement emerged.

Until this time, the few organizations formed by gay women and men had been concerned mainly with merging into American society as it existed. They fought valiantly, but with little success. The new phase of gay liberation, which sprang up across the nation after the Stonewall riots, grew out of the counterculture. Gay people began to recognize a need to change the society that oppressed them and to change the image of themselves that society had forced upon them.

The slogan "gay pride" is a radical one, for who could imagine just five years ago that a woman or a man in America could be both gay and proud? Much of the pride in the slogan comes from the recognition of our obligation to attempt to reeducate an entire society and to help free ourselves and you from tradition-bound, stereotypical sex roles that oppress all women and men; but especially gay women and men.

Let us talk about this oppression which causes mental health problems for the homosexual; for in understanding it we can begin to be of real help to the gay community, by changing some of the attitudes in our society. Imagine, for a moment, living your life in a culture which in no way offers you support or legitimacy or affirmation. In almost every way it offers you the opposite: condemnation, judgment, discrimination, intolerance, even hatred. We live in what at times is called a Judaeo-Christian culture, and from this Judaeo-Christian culture have come certain codes of morality which throughout history have condemned homosexual acts and homosexual people. The religious penalty for living such a style of life has ranged from saying a few prayers, to being castrated, to being burned at the stake. We know today that the church itself is struggling with a reexamination of its moral code. We could talk of birth control, divorce, premarital sex, extramarital sex, sex between people who are not married, masturbation, and even oral and anal-genital sex between members of the opposite sex. All of these things are being

looked at, being reexamined, being reevaluated. The religious community is changing, and has very little at this point to offer in guidance as we struggle to develop new ways of thinking about sexuality.

The law has often assisted the religious institution in its condemnation of homosexuality. Until only approximately a hundred years ago, a homosexual person could be condemned to death in England. In most states today, homosexual acts are still considered felony offenses, but so are oral and anal-genital relations between members of the opposite sex, even within marriage. Seldom are these laws enforced, and when they are it is almost always against the homosexual community. The kinds of harassment, enticement, entrapment, brutality, discrimination, and injustice perpetrated against gay people are a shame to the concept of justice in this country.

Let us talk about the oppression from the mental health professions. Many people have remarked that the psychotherapist has taken over many of the functions of the priest in our day. Psychiatry has been given the function to determine what is mental illness and what is not. Unfortunately, the mental health professions have not been exactly scientific in determining this. To the contrary, we too are influenced by our culture and in many cases have merely made what was sin in the past, sickness today. The example of our attitude toward homosexuality is classic. It is usually thought of in two ways. One is that homosexuality in and of itself is defined as pathological. Irving Bieber, considered by many to be knowledgeable about homosexuality, has stated very clearly: "All psychanalytic theories assume that adult homosexuality is psychopathologic."<sup>1</sup> It is my assumption, and that of a growing number of my colleagues, that homosexual behavior per se is not psychopathologic. It is sometimes thought of as always found among other neurotic symptoms. This can be empirically tested, and has been empirically refuted. Thomas Szasz talks about how the homosexual has been made the model psychiatric scapegoat; that nonconformity and

<sup>1</sup> Irving Bieber *et al.*, *Homosexuality* (New York: Random House [Vintage Books], 1962), p. 18.

mental disease in the minds of many in the mental health professions have become synonymous.<sup>2</sup> Those who are different somehow must be controlled, be they black, red, yellow, women, students; and our society has devised many ways of controlling these different groups.

Homosexuals who seek psychotherapy are pretty much like anybody else who seeks psychotherapy. They come with problems of depression, of anxiety, of drug abuse, of chronic interpersonal difficulties, of self-esteem, and in some cases with mental disorder. Many come because they feel intensely oppressed but do not understand the source. Many have internalized the oppression and feel guilty, filled with self-hate. Living as an oppressed person, it is difficult to be happy, because so much energy has to be spent in overcoming the oppression. Certainly all minority groups would be familiar with that.

In my opinion, one cannot do effective psychotherapy with a gay person if one believes that the mere fact that he is homosexually oriented is indicative of emotional disturbance. Asking oneself if this patient can be cured of his homosexuality immediately places the treatment in a frame of reference that is oppressive to him. Most mental health professionals today would not claim to cure homosexuals, but rather would say that they help the homosexual adjust to his situation. Unfortunately, what this usually means is that they too consider it a sickness, a pathological disturbance, and attempt to help the homosexual adjust to his deformity. It is my opinion that this attitude is also a part of the oppression by the mental health professions. For though you may help the individual function better, you will also drain off the anger and the energy he has available, potentially, to fight the oppression. He will then go around feeling like an incomplete man, handicapped, not-quite-so-good-as, and will remain full of self-doubt and feelings of inferiority.

Martin Hoffman, psychiatrist and author, states: "The treatment of the homosexual who wishes to become heterosexual, and the treatment of the homosexual who wishes to remain so,

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Szasz, *The Manufacture of Madness* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

but who has problems adjusting to his life situation, are the same."<sup>3</sup> In both cases, the goal of therapy would be to help the homosexual to accept himself, to feel good about himself, to love himself, including his gayness. If, in addition, he wants to learn to relate better heterosexually, so be it. Those psychotherapists who continue to believe that homosexuality is pathological should, at the minimum, point out to their patients that it is a value judgment not based on scientific evidence and that many mental health professionals disagree.

There is another area with which the psychotherapist is obligated to be concerned if he is to offer effective therapy to gay persons. In the past ten years we have become more aware of the need to involve ourselves in small social systems, such as families and living groups. Gay people also have families. We frequently live with other people, as lovers, friends, and sometimes as life-long partners. We must offer help to these forms of family, and lend our skills to gay people who are struggling to grow, to become independent, to communicate effectively, and to share a life with someone else in a world that frequently condemns even that.

We have become more and more aware in the past few years of the failure of the mental health professions to offer adequate services to our society. Out of this awareness have developed many trends in psychiatry: the treatment of groups and family systems and small social systems. But even more important, particularly to the homosexually oriented person, is the beginning of our involvement in changing community attitudes and institutions that impinge oppressively on the lives of people, causing serious problems in functioning. Institutionalized oppression coming from the law, from the church, from the mental health professions, exists in this society, a society riddled with racism and sexism. We must help it to change. It is incumbent upon the mental health professions, and particularly upon the profession of social work, to stand up and be counted, to engage effectively in combating these forms of oppression, in helping com-

<sup>3</sup> Martin Hoffman, "Psychotherapy with Homosexuals," *Professional Psychology*, Fall, 1971, p. 359.



munities understand how attitudes affect the mental health of us all, and in changing attitudes which cause problems for people. One does not have to be a psychotherapist to do this, but the mental health professions have a particular obligation to engage in this process. The whole community-mental-health-community-psychiatry movement speaks to this issue. Seymour Halleck says that "there is no way the [mental health professional] can deal with behavior that is partly generated by a social system without either strengthening or altering that system. Every encounter with a [psychotherapist] therefore, has political implications"<sup>4</sup> Gay people who come to therapy need help in understanding the various kinds of oppressive forces they live under; for without that clear understanding they frequently will behave inappropriately. "Oppression plus deception equals alienation. Oppression plus awareness equals anger."<sup>5</sup> The psychotherapist who implies or states that behavior, meaning the depression, the anxiety, the drug abuse, is due to homosexuality is not a scientist but a moralist; and in my opinion he is unethical, deceptive, and seriously detrimental to the mental health of gay people.

Too often the mental health professional has been speculating, trying to figure out the causes of homosexuality. The answer was well stated by Dr. John Money, the famous Johns Hopkins psychiatrist: "Whatever the degree of an individual's homosexual commitment, the behavior concerned may be in some degree environmental, learned, and sociological . . . likewise with the transitory, facultative, optional, and induced homosexual. Exactly the same statement may be made of the heterosexual."<sup>6</sup> The mental health professions should be investigating the causes of antihomosexuality—of homophobia.

We have talked about internalized oppression, which we are all familiar with in our practice of psychotherapy. We have

<sup>4</sup> Seymour Halleck, *The Politics of Therapy* (New York: Science House, Inc., 1971), p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Claude Steiner, "Radical Psychiatry: Principles," in Jerome Agal, *Radical Therapist* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> John Money as quoted in Faubion Bowers, "Homosex: Living the Life," *Saturday Review*, February 12, 1972, p. 27.



talked about the oppression from small social systems, such as families and living groups. Most importantly, we have referred to institutionalized oppression, and the need for the mental health professional to become more involved in changing community attitudes and institutional policies that seriously affect the lives of people. All social workers can engage in this kind of work. You come from all parts of the country, you are involved in community life in a variety of ways, sitting on committees, determining programs, making policies, influencing legislative leaders. Gay people need your help. Find out what the homosexual organizations in your community are doing. Find out about the needs of the gay community and begin to assist us in fulfilling those needs in whatever way you can. There is much to be done. Our culture is still "hung up" on whether or not one should masturbate. We were told, not too long ago, by the medical profession that masturbating would cause warts, brain damage, eye trouble, and various other physical and mental ailments. This is an indication of the fear of sexuality in our culture.

A group of psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and lay people, homosexual and heterosexual, has been meeting for approximately a year and a half as a task force on homosexuality. Recently we have obtained a position statement by the San Francisco Mental Health Association declaring that homosexuality is not an illness, and pledging to work toward the alleviation of oppression. A group of social workers recently got the board of directors of the Golden Gate Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers to adopt the following position statement:

The Golden Gate Chapter of NASW realizes that homosexuality has existed under varying circumstances throughout recorded history and in most cultures. A substantial minority of women and men in our American society are identified with a homosexual life style. Good psychological functioning should not be defined in terms of sexual pattern but rather in terms of environmental mastery. We consider homosexuality an orientation not different in kind from heterosexuality and fully on a par with it. The Chapter views prejudice, intolerance and discrimination oppressing any minority as inimical to the mental health not only of the affected minority, but of the commu-

nity as a whole. The Chapter deplores attitudes and behavior which impose something less than equal status upon the homosexually oriented members of the human family.

It too pledges its intent to work toward the alleviation of oppression.

No matter what area of life you are working in, I can assure you there is a place where you can work toward changing society's attitude about homosexuality, and thus work toward the mental health of gay people. In religion, in politics, in law, and in the mental health professions, the need is obvious. Achieving liberation will require a new morality and an expanded understanding of human nature. Part of this new morality will be to accept our sensual natures as good and healthy. Dennis Altman says: "Liberation entails not just freedom from sexual restraints, but also freedom for the fulfillment of human potential, a large part of which has been unnecessarily restricted by tradition, prejudice, and the requirements of social organization."<sup>7</sup> We must change our individual consciousness before we can help others change. I urge you to join with me in the struggle to rid ourselves of sexism, and to rid our society of sexist attitudes, so that we can begin to struggle with how to relate to each other as equal human beings—men to men, women to women, and women to men. Jean Paul Sartre says:

The homosexual must remain an object, a flower, an insect, an inhabitant of ancient Sodom or the planet Uranus, an automaton that hops about in the limelight, anything you like except my fellow man, except my image, except myself. For a choice must be made: if every man is all of man, this black sheep must be only a pebble or must be me.<sup>8</sup>

There will be no liberation for any of us until there is liberation for all of us.

The methods and goals within the gay movement are as diverse as the kinds of people involved. But the most pressing

<sup>7</sup> Dennis Altman, *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey, 1971), p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Paul Sartre, *Saint Genêt: Actor and Martyr*, tr. H. Bernard Frechtman (New York: Braziller, 1963), p. 587.

need is to communicate, to break through the deadly silence that has surrounded the gay subculture for so many years and to build environments where people can work and love.

"The love that dare not speak its name" is a meaningless phrase now for the women and men of gay liberation. We have come through our fear and found anger. We recognize that anger as healthy, but know that behind it is love. The ultimate goal of gay liberation, as with all liberation groups, is to help build a world where people can live in the freedom and dignity of what they are.

# *Achieving an Open Society*

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

**J**UST AS MEDICAL DOCTORS are charged with the task of curing physical diseases, those of us in the field of social welfare are grappling with the problems of America's deadly social diseases. And it must be said that this is a crisis year for our patient, a year in which the barriers to an open society seem to be looming higher and stronger. I must admit that the prognosis is bad indeed.

The year 1972 may enter the pages of history as one of those historic years that school children are forced to remember. But I am deeply concerned that it will not be listed alongside 1776, the year of national independence, or 1863, the year of emancipation, or 1964, the year of the Civil Rights Act. I fear that 1972 may instead be listed among the infamous, tawdry years in our history, years in which the ideals and hopes and dreams of the people have been severely set back, years like 1877.

The First Reconstruction ended in 1877, nearly a century ago, with the infamous Hayes-Tilden Compromise that resulted in the abandonment of the newly freed black population of the South by their former friends in the North.

Now, in 1972, there is persuasive evidence that the Second Reconstruction—the dismantling of segregation and the further extension of basic civil rights to black people—is coming to an end. Once again, the North seems weary of the struggle. Once again, the righteous cause of black people seems relegated to national neglect. Once again, a period of national reconstruction and reform seems doomed to be unfinished and uncompleted.

The Second Reconstruction has been as incomplete as the

First. In the 1960s, black Americans won a measure of the legal and constitutional rights long taken for granted by white citizens. But these have been indifferently enforced, their supposed benefits have been relatively restricted, and they have not grappled with those basic social and economic issues that would constitute change of the magnitude that would resolve this society's long-standing problems.

Most of the newly won rights of the 1960s did nothing to help a poor man to pay his rent or to put milk in his baby's stomach. While some of the new rights and laws did help to create an atmosphere of social concern and activism that did result in some measurable progress for the young, the educated, and the skilled, there is little doubt that the masses of poor black people have been only marginally affected.

One need only consider that in 1972, after a decade of intense civil rights activity and governmental action, the black unemployment rate is double that for whites. Blacks, who constitute 12 percent of the labor force, are 18 percent of the unemployed, and 40 percent of black workers are still locked into unskilled laboring jobs at the bottom of the occupational ladder. Median family income for blacks is only about three percentage points higher than it was back in 1952, in relation to that of whites. In fact, the dollar gap separating the average black family from the average white family has actually grown from \$2,600 in 1960 to \$3,800 in 1970. Black college graduates still earn less than whites who have not completed high school, and black families must have at least two earners to match the income of comparable white families with one earner.

Beyond the sheer economic disparity, our cities are ravaged by the creeping cancer of housing abandonment; the steadily expanding ghetto slums are still choked by suburban exclusion of blacks and moderate-income families, and the social dislocations that accompany widespread deprivation and inequality are deepening the fissures that rend the fabric of our society.

As we stumble into the 1970s it is clear that the unresolved tensions of the 1960s are still with us, although in altered forms. In the 1960s the burning issue was the right to sit in the front of

the bus. Today, the bus can still be taken as a symbol of basic social issues. But now the issue has become what the bus fare will be, whether blacks will drive the bus, maintain it, and hold the multitude of skilled and management jobs that keep the buses running.

The issue also is whether the black community will have a role in deciding where that bus route will be—whether it will link the ghetto with suburban factory jobs and with downtown shopping centers. And also at issue is whether black people will sit on the board of directors of the bus company and whether black people will be officers and board members of the banks and financial institutions and regulatory agencies that exert legal and financial power over the bus company.

These then, are the new issues, complex and sophisticated in comparison to the issues of the 1960s but for all their social and economic content they too are profound moral issues as well.

These issues arise at a time when, to be blunt, it appears that black people are going out of style, that our aspirations and ideals are being shunted aside as the nation's energies are diverted to other issues in what appears to be a faddist, escapist rush from the decisions and basic changes needed to resolve the truly crucial issues of our society. Since the mid 1960s we have seen a succession of popular movements grip the national attention, briefly captivate the media and the public eye, and then drift away, to be replaced by yet another issue.

Are this nation's sparse moral energies going to be dissipated in a succession of temporarily favored movements, or will they be brought to bear upon the priority issues of black inequality, poverty, and the plight of the cities? I submit that black people have been here for 400 years, and we have pressed our cause throughout the oppression and brutality of that long history. And we will continue to be here, to press our cause, and to urge upon this nation the truism that the fate of the whole country and the fate of its black minority are intertwined. There can be no peace and no progress in this nation without a just resolution of the issues affecting black Americans.

This is something that needs saying at this point in time,

when the moral fervor of the 1960s appears to have given way to moral cowardice and abandonment in the 1970s.

A brief look at some key issues shows us that the legitimate aspirations of black citizens are being ignored or are compromised away, in many instances by self-styled liberals once active in the fight for civil rights.

#### WELFARE REFORM

The present welfare system is a jerry-built structure unable to meet the urgent needs placed upon it. The Administration's reform proposals coupled insufficient payment levels and unrealistic work requirements with partial federal assumption of uniform benefits, aid to the working poor, and the principle of a minimum income level beneath which no family would be allowed to fall.

The proposed reform was drastically flawed, but after the Congress got through with it, we were left with an unworkable piece of legislation that would punish the poor for the failings of our economic system. Now welfare is in the not-so-tender hands of the Senate Finance Committee where all pretense at reform has been swept away in favor of harsh, punitive provisions that would institute a system of semislavery for those in need. The Family Assistance Plan has been perverted into a Family Destruction Plan. And the voices for true reform have either been silent or have pliantly accepted the malicious, tortured proposals that have emerged from the depths of hard hearts.

While many are willing to compromise on welfare reform and settle for the best they can get, it is now obvious that the best bill that will emerge from the Congress in this election year is one that will be malicious in intent and perverse in its impact upon the poor. Instead of quibbling about benefit levels or wasting our energies in trying to remove only the most objectionable and punitive aspects of such so-called "reform," it seems to me that the social welfare profession should line up solidly behind the scrapping of welfare proposals currently being considered. Instead, it should fight for emergency fiscal relief to the states to prevent further cutbacks and mount an offensive for a real wel-



fare reform plan that would establish decent minimum income levels, federally administered and federally guaranteed to all in need.

Ever since the very first rumblings of possible reform were announced a few years ago, the profession has been divided and has shown a willingness to compromise the basic rights of the poor in return for minor concessions that would leave the structure of institutionally imposed poverty intact. It is now time for the profession to stop compromising and to stand firm in its obligations to its constituency and their needs.

#### HOUSING

Despite the desperate need for low- and moderate-income housing, very little is being built, thanks in part to the refusal of suburban governments to revise their zoning laws and to accept scattered-site public housing. As in most programs designed to benefit the poor, the real windfalls have gone to others, as witness the Federal Housing Administration scandal in which speculators made huge profits by selling substandard houses to poor people at inflated prices.

The refusal of communities to allow black people and poor people to escape slum housing can be seen most clearly in the North, and especially in the very areas of the North that pride themselves on liberalism. A scattered-site public housing project in New York City resulted in a hysterical response from the traditionally liberal Forest Hills community and the passage of a bill in the state legislature that would have effectively doomed that project and endangered future scattered-site housing projects. That bill was vetoed, but it is apparent that the planned project will be compromised to the point where hundreds of families will be excluded from decent housing.

Somehow the idea has arisen that those who enjoy good housing in good neighborhoods have a veto power over who will live on the next block. I do not recall such tender sensitivities to neighborhood desires when black people were "urban-renewed" out of their homes to make way for luxury housing and office buildings. The national trend of excluding black people and

poor people from suburbs and better city neighborhoods is, if anything, accelerating. And in this issue too we have witnessed silence, withdrawal, or open hostility by those who just a few short years ago marched at our side and joined with us in singing "We Shall Overcome."

BUSING

On no issue do we see the white flag of surrender waving in the racist breeze so much as in the controversy over busing to desegregate illegally and unconstitutionally segregated schools.

Note that I did not say busing for racial balance. That is a phony issue. So too is what some call "forced busing" to describe legal and constitutional court orders and federal directives. Why not, instead, refer to "forced segregation," which is the situation in thousands of school districts eighteen years after the Supreme Court decision that held so-called "separate-but-equal" to be unconstitutional? We know that "separate" means "unequal" in this society. We know that busing is a false issue created and perpetuated by those who are more interested in political expedience than in education.

And we know that on this issue, as in so many others, our erstwhile supporters are deserting us and falling all over each other in an unseemly rush to compromise the basic rights of black people. Liberals in both houses of Congress supported so-called "compromises" that resulted in reporting out of conference committee an amendment to the higher education bill that would retard the use of busing. In New York, which prides itself on being the most liberal state in the nation, the legislature passed a moratorium on busing, fortunately vetoed by the governor. And the Administration's still-pending moratorium threatens a grave constitutional crisis in its attempt to limit the courts' right to guarantee citizens their constitutional rights.

Let us be frank about busing and other issues. A story in the *Wall Street Journal* some weeks back reported the resistance to busing by people in a town in Alabama. They were brutally honest. Nearly all the children in the district were being bused for reasons of distance. But the white people of Coy, Alabama,

bitterly opposed busing to desegregate their schools, although it would actually mean less busing. One woman said, and her response was typical of others interviewed: "As long as we don't have niggers on there, it's not busing."

There are those who would compromise on these issues. There are those who would argue that pursuit of the slippery goal of integration can only lead to reprisals from the larger society, and that we should compromise in the hopes that we will, in turn, get concessions on other fronts, such as economic gains. But this is a path and a strategy that have been tried. In 1895 Booker T. Washington raised his hand and separated his fingers from his fist and declared that we could be as separate as those fingers. Washington tried in vain to bargain with the white South, hoping that if black people withdrew from the political arena, they would reap economic rewards. And the answer he got was increased lynchings, increased oppression, and the institution of Jim Crow. It took only a year after the Atlanta Compromise speech for the Supreme Court, in the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision, to put the official stamp of federal approval on segregation.

So we cannot compromise on our rights. We must remain steadfast in our insistence on each and every manhood right due us by the Constitution and the laws of the United States. We must, as Douglass said, "agitate, agitate," until we are heard once more. And we must build the coalitions and the political strength to ensure that we will be heard.

The social welfare profession is a key element in a meaningful coalition of people who insist on piercing the barriers to an open society. Black people have had the dismal experience of seeing those we regarded as trusty oaks reveal themselves as slim reeds. The question now before the social work profession is to what degree that profession and its agencies can be counted upon in the struggle that lies ahead. Social welfare agencies have, in the past and perhaps even today, not been immune from the disease of racism. The power and political clout of people in the social services have been minimal. There is still need,

in many instances, to say to some professionals and to some agencies: "Physician, heal thyself."

And yet, the potential is here. I believe the will and the spirit are here. I have faith that the cries of the oppressed ring loud and clear in your ears and in your hearts. I know that your numbers and your skills can be harnessed to fight effectively for what is right.

You are uniquely equipped to be the conscience of this nation; the constant prod to the silent, sullen majority wedded to vindictiveness and irrational fears. You can be the handmaidens of justice, breaking the barriers to that open society which is the sole hope of a nation frozen in a spirit of narrow rigidity.

And when the cries come from the crevices of this nation's poverty-stricken ghettos, cries that plead: "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician here?" it is the social welfare professions who must answer, who must minister to the pressing needs, and who must provide the leadership and commitment.

You who labor among the weeds of want that obscure the fruits of American affluence must rededicate yourselves, your agencies, and your profession to a strength renewed in a cause just and a spirit righteous. You must be steadfast and unmovable in your commitment to your constituents, to your nation, and to your conscience.

# *Report on the Annual Forum Division Program*

DAVID FANSHEL

THE CONTENT of the Division program flowed from the emphasis set forth in the presidential address made by James Dumpson at the opening General Session of the 1972 Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare. He earlier had charged the Division Committee to explore ways in which the barriers to an open society represented by institutional racism could be overcome. The program was organized to delineate the ways in which racism manifests itself in the many areas of concern to social welfare and to suggest courses of corrective action which could provide clear guidelines for work to be carried out in the year preceding NCSW's centennial celebration in 1973. The committee was very aware that rhetoric could easily provide a smokescreen for lack of effective action and designed its program to encourage movement toward specified and achievable goals.

An unusual feature by the Division program was the inclusion of the minority caucus meetings as part of the formal structure of the Forum. Some five hundred members participated in two large meetings, which were preceded by smaller meetings of the individual ethnic caucuses. At the urging of the minority groups, individuals representing the white majority conferred as a group to consider its own agenda on institutional racism. They accepted the view that white social welfare workers need not always wait for their dark, tan, and olive-skinned colleagues to be the prod for antiracist work. The sea of black, Chicano, Puerto

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Rican, Asian American, Native American, and white faces at the larger Division meetings and the active verbal exchange that took place were impressive.

Some very specific concerns and ideas for action were presented by the Coalition of Ethnic and Racial Minorities. These included a proposal that NCSW establish a Commission on Minority Activities which would monitor Forum programs to assure accountability and continuity of action. It was also proposed that a coalition of minorities be established within NCSW for the purpose of developing a national platform of crucial social welfare priorities.

The Black Caucus expressed interest in the establishment by blacks of model agencies as counterstructures to the organizations which have traditionally served the ghetto communities. The Asian Americans expressed concern that so little social welfare effort had gone into opposition to the blight under which most Asian Americans live, such as the stereotyping in movies, TV, commercials, and so forth, to create images that attack the humanity of Asian Americans. The Hispanic Caucus raised questions about the structure of NCSW and the need for continued vigorous effort to ensure adequate representation.

The caucus representing white members suggested extending the affirmative action program against racism and sexism to social agencies receiving federal funds. Such a program can be modeled upon the impressive beginning made by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the field of higher education. Under such a program, social agencies receiving federal funds would be required to display data about the composition of their boards and staffs and, where needed, to indicate ways in which obviously nonrepresentative patterns of selection could be rapidly overcome.

In an important Division meeting, Dorothy Height and Howard Arnold modestly reported upon accomplishments in a large national agency and a school of social work in dealing with aspects of institutional racism. Miss Height's work as Director of the Center for Racial Justice of the National Board of the YWCA was impressively detailed in an account of how a deter-

mined effort and clear definition of work tasks made antiracism a major concern of an important American institution. The contradiction between the avowed humanitarian goals of an organization and the subtle influence of a racist environment can be exposed in a way that enables organizations to chart new courses of self-cleansing and affirmative action.

Howard Arnold's review of the effort to introduce a scholarly approach to institutional racism as an important addition to the curriculum of a school of social work (that at the University of Pennsylvania) evoked admiration. Effective rendering of human services to minority clients will be enhanced to the extent that educational programs become sources of knowledge and enlightenment about the nature of the minority experience in our country.

Douglas Glasgow, Dean of the School of Social Work, Howard University, presented a major paper on racism and the delivery of services to an audience of some four hundred people. Although understated and given with a minimum of dramatic display, his thoughtful statement had a visible effect upon his listeners. His address underscored the view of many black social workers that black clients—and those of other minority groups—have long been shortchanged in the quantity and quality of social services received. Too many minority clients have had to endure ineffective and inappropriate efforts which have reflected a professionalism imposed from without. His remarks made clear his conviction that more effective modes of service delivery to minority clients will come only as a result of the most self-scrutinizing and penetrating analysis of professional tasks.

An important Division meeting took place on the last day of the Forum when two representatives of the Fortune Society, Prentice Williams and Danny Keane, graphically reported experiences of their Society's members with racism in the nation's prisons. They pleaded for support from Conference members for drastic reform so that an incredibly inhuman and debasing system could be transformed. A large audience was moved by their report.

Vernon Jordan provided the wind-up of the 1972 Annual



Forum at the closing General Session. In his new role as successor to the late Whitney M. Young, Jr., in the executive leadership of the National Urban League, he assumes an important and demanding role in the social welfare community and the nation at large. His remarks served as a challenge to the Conference to serve as one of the springboards for the strenuous and creative effort required to lift the pall of racism from all sectors of American life.

## *The Conference Response to the Challenge of New Groups: President Dumpson Reports to the Membership*

NEW AND INSISTENT VOICES were first heard at the 1968 Annual Forum in San Francisco, and since then the National Conference on Social Welfare has been both an arena and a target. It has provided a place where the voices of protest could be heard, where Forum participants could be brought face to face with those who suffer, and where the passion for social justice might be rekindled. The Conference has also been the target for many who wanted to make sure that it reflected throughout the diversity of our population, or who wanted it to become a social-action organization rather than an exclusively educational forum.

The Conference has gone through profound changes in response to these direct challenges, and in response to the challenge of the times. It is my pleasure, as your President, to present the record of this response as of May, 1972.

### FORMAL COMMITMENTS

First of all, there are formal commitments to ensure a representative organization at various levels of decision-making. The Conference, created and financed by the field, is built on a system of rotation which gives maximum opportunity for participation by all constituent groups—local and national voluntary agencies; local, state, and federal public agencies; laymen in social welfare; and citizens in allied fields. A new constitution, approved by the membership in May, 1970 recognizes additional special constituencies: racial and ethnic minority groups which were underrepresented and other groups seeking identification. The new Constitution requires:

That at least four of the 12 members-at-large on the National Board represent currently emerging welfare interests;

That the Nominating Committee be broadly representative;

That the Committee on Program include nine members-at-large broadly representing currently emerging social welfare interests.

Bylaws define these interests as students, direct-line workers, blacks, browns, and other minority groups, and low-income users of social services. Bylaws can be amended easily to keep the definition current.

#### CURRENT PROFILE OF THE CONFERENCE

How has this commitment been carried out? In 1971-72, 41 percent of the members of the National Board, which has the responsibility for the management of the Conference, were from minority groups, and in 1972-73 this will be increased to 46 percent. The committees of the Conference in 1971-72 drew 32 percent of their membership from such groups.

Diversity in program planning and content appears in many ways. Program planning committees this year included 59 members from special interest groups out of a total of 135:4 Asian Americans, 31 blacks, 8 Chicanos, 3 American Indians, 8 Puerto Ricans, 3 students, and 2 low-income users of service. In 1971 there were at least 81 speakers at the 270 different meetings who were from the special-interest groups. Major general sessions featured Congressman Charles B. Rangel of the Black Congressional Caucus; Professor Jorge Lara-Braud, of the Hispanic American Institute in Austin, Texas; Mayor Howard N. Lee, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; and a session conducted by the Trabajadores Sociales de la Raza. In 1972 (as of May 8 and before final program count), at least 67 individuals were identifiable as members of special-interest groups, including 10 Asian Americans, 27 blacks, 9 Chicanos, 14 Indians, and 10 Puerto Ricans. General Session speakers included Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., new Executive Director of the Urban League; Anna R. Langford, alderman of Chicago's City Council; a panel of representa-

tives of four ethnic minority groups speaking to the "Challenge of Ethnic Coalitions," and myself.

The National Board committed itself several years ago to raise and to allocate funds to ensure the participation of low-income representatives. Foundation gifts were forthcoming during the first year but have not been forthcoming recently. Participation this year has been financed by national voluntary agencies which are members and which agreed to pay additional dues for this purpose. These funds in 1971 ensured the presence of 88 individuals as program participants, who received transportation and two days of *per diem* expenses, and complimentary registrations for an additional 23. In 1972, at least 20 speakers were subsidized, and complimentary registrations were made available to 133 low-income participants.

Complimentary Associate Group status has been offered to, and accepted by, the National Congress of American Indians, the National Federation of Student Social Workers, and the Puerto Rican Social Service Workers. It has been offered to the Trabajadores Sociales de la Raza, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the National Association of Black Social Workers, and the Asian-American Social Workers. Such status gives groups the right to plan their own meetings, help plan the combined Associate Group meetings, and have their own booths. Booths and complimentary caucus rooms have been used by most of these groups each year, and in addition, a booth was assigned to the United Farm Workers in 1972.

The Conference, a market place for ideas, is being used constructively as many groups are enabled to present their problems and their point of view.

#### TAKING A STAND ON SOCIAL ISSUES

The National Conference is primarily an educational forum, but in 1971 the National Board decided that it could speak out on social issues in its own name and acted on a number of items initiated by its own members or brought to its attention through the Annual Meeting and the Social Issues Forum.

In 1972 the Board continued this practice. In addition, it de-

cided to take on an advocacy role by developing a statement for presentation to the platform committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. This statement is based on principles and broad areas related to recent themes of the Forum. The Board invited the Conference attenders to share in this process when it presented its statement to the Social Issues Forum, and took the ensuing discussion into consideration before arriving at its final draft.

"Taking a stand" cannot be confused with a "social-action program." The latter would require greatly increased resources for determining the will of the membership, for representing that membership in Washington, and for maintaining effective communication. The Board has been concerned with this, too, and for almost two years has been working with other national "umbrella" organizations to see if a new national organization could be formed to carry out a number of social welfare interests more effectively, including legislative action.

#### THE MOVE TO CHICAGO

The decision to move the site of the 1972 Conference from Anaheim, California, to Chicago represents the most dramatic illustration of the spirit of the National Board, and its respect for the wishes of a valued part of its constituency. As I stated to the Board of Directors in December, 1971, Anaheim had become a symbol around which the willingness and capacity of our Conference to change were challenged, it had become the symbol around which was tested the readiness of our organization, through the leadership, to be sensitive to the experiences of, and the meaning those experiences had to a large bloc of our membership who happened to be an ethnic minority; it became the symbol of the readiness of the Conference to respond with affirmative action based on principle rather than action based on efficiency of operation and convenience. We met in Chicago because the Board of this Conference decided to respond to the call for change when the principle of social justice was at stake. We meet in Chicago because it is right to bear witness to principle even if that action should result in a declaration by others of

legal disobedience and the eventual dissolution of the Conference.

By all of these actions, I believe we are striking a heavy blow to a barrier to an open Conference and to an open society. We are richer as an organization because of the diversity of our cultural backgrounds and, I believe, the program of this Forum reflects that difference. Let me repeat the quotation I used in one of our Conference bulletins. It summarizes well convictions that underlie what your Board and Executive Director and staff have done: "All men are brothers; all brothers are different; and difference is beautiful."

# Appendix A: Program

THEME: BREAKING THE BARRIERS TO AN OPEN SOCIETY

SUNDAY, MAY 28

## ORIENTATION FOR NEWCOMERS

*Presiding and speaking:* Robert S. Burgess, Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Providence

*Speaker:* Sara Lee Berkman, NCSW

## ICSW AND THE 1972 CONFERENCE IN THE HAGUE

*Presiding:* Norman V. Lourie, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg; Chairman, U.S. Committee, International Council on Social Welfare

*Speakers:* Reuben C. Baetz, Canadian Council on Social Development, Ottawa, Canada

Mrs. Kate Katzki, International Council on Social Welfare, New York  
Alfred Kadushin, University of Wisconsin, Madison

*Sponsor:* U.S. Committee of the ICSW

## OPENING GENERAL SESSION: BREAKING THE BARRIERS TO AN OPEN SOCIETY

*Presiding:* John McDowell, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York

*Invocation:* The Rev. Ruben I. Cruz, Chicago

*Speaker:* James R. Dumpson, Fordham University, New York; President, NCSW

Presentation of NCSW Award and 50-Year Plaques

## CONFERENCE RECEPTION

MONDAY, MAY 29

## GENERAL SESSION: PLATFORM FOR PROGRESS

(Walter P. Reuther Memorial Lecture)

*Presiding:* Mary E. Blake, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York

*Speaker:* Leonard Woodcock, International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit

## MINORITY CAUCUSES MEET ON RACISM

*Cochairmen:* Dorothy I. Height, YWCA, New York

David J. Billings, III, New York City Council against Poverty

*Planning Committee:* Douglas Glasgow, Howard University, Washington

Magdalena Miranda, Puerto Rican Interagency Council, New York



Jim Y. Miyano, Special Services for Groups, Los Angeles  
Daniel Thursz, University of Maryland, Baltimore

#### OUR OWN UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS: A WHITNEY YOUNG PLAN

*Presiding:* Sarah Austin, Office of Price Commission, Washington  
*Speaker:* Sterling Tucker, Washington Urban League

#### INCOME TRANSFERS AND HUMAN DIGNITY: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

*Speaker:* John B. Turner, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland

#### MANPOWER TRAINING—THE SOLUTION TO POVERTY

*Presiding:* Eric Sewell, Howard University, Washington  
*Speaker:* Mark Battle, Mark Battle Associates, Washington  
*Discussant:* Thomas Wilkins, District Manpower Administration, Washington

#### INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND THE USE OF AUTHORITY IN SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

*Presiding:* Bernard C. Fisher, Community Service Society of New York City  
*Speakers:* Donald Brieland, University of Illinois, Urbana  
Sanford N. Katz, Boston College Law School

#### THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALIZED SERVICES IN THE 1970s

*Presiding:* William J. Hersey, Jr., John F. Kennedy Institute for Habilitation of the Mentally and Physically Handicapped Child, Baltimore.  
*Speaker:* Virginia Burns, University of Chicago

#### INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF LIVING AS A BORDERLINE IN AMERICAN TECHNOCRACY

*Presiding:* Mrs. Sheila Gaeckler, John F. Kennedy Institute for Habilitation of the Mentally and Physically Handicapped Child, Baltimore.  
*Speakers:* Marshall B. Jones, University of Pennsylvania, Hershey  
Bernard Valdez, Denver Department of Public Welfare  
Roland Queen, Maryland State Mental Health Administration, Baltimore

#### HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS: CONCEPT AND REALITY

*Presiding:* Chauncey A. Alexander, National Association of Social Workers, New York  
*Speakers:* Mrs. Mildred B. Arrill, Public Health Service, Rockville, Md.  
Glenn Wilson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

#### ELIMINATING BARRIERS THROUGH THE ARTS

*Presiding:* Ned Goldberg, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York  
*Speakers:* Jessie Woods, Urban Gateways, Chicago  
Shirley Genther, Urban Gateways, Chicago

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES SERVICES FROM  
PRIVATE AGENCIES

*Presiding:* Duane W. Beck, Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Atlanta, Ga.

*Speaker:* James A. Bax, HEW, Washington

*Discussant:* Fred Friendly, Department of Public Welfare, State of Tennessee, Nashville

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT OF CLIENT ADVOCACY

*Presiding:* Mrs. Ellen P. Manser, Family Service Association of America, New York

*Speakers:* C. Bernard Scotch, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond

Lionel Lane, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE DESIGN OF NEW SERVICES  
TO CARRY OUT THE AGENCY'S ORIGINAL PURPOSE

*Presiding:* Edward J. Gully, American Red Cross, Charlotte, N.C.

*Speaker:* George Else, American National Red Cross, Washington

WHAT HAS GONE WRONG WITH PUBLIC EDUCATION?

*Presiding:* Dr. Eugene Arnonowitz, Boston Children's Service Association, Boston

*Speaker:* Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

AUTHORS' FORUM: CHILDREN

*Presiding:* William H. Robinson, Illinois Department of Registration and Education, Springfield

*Speakers:* Raymond L. Borom, Day Care Facilities Development Service, Cleveland

Kailash N. Jaily, El Paso County Department of Public Welfare, Colorado Springs, Colo. (Clifford King, coauthor)

Kenneth R. Russell, Colorado State Hospital, Pueblo (Arthur Merrell, M.D., coauthor)

John S. Wodarski, Washington University, St. Louis

AUTHORS' FORUM: CIVIL RIGHTS

*Presiding:* T. George Silcott, Wiltwyck School for Boys, New York

*Speakers:* H. Frederick Brown, University of Illinois, Chicago

Robert Chazin, Fordham University, New York

Henry J. Keneally, Jr., Phoenix Area Indian Health Service, Phoenix, Ariz.

Cordell H. Thomas, Temple University, Philadelphia

MINORITY CAUCUSES MEET ON RACISM (continuation of earlier session)

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN

ECONOMIC POLICIES

*Presiding:* Mark Battle, Mark Battle Associates, Washington

*Speaker:* Larry Gary, Howard University, Washington

**INCOME MAINTENANCE: A REPORT ON EXPERIMENTS**

*Presiding:* Martin B. Loeb, University of Wisconsin, Madison

*Speakers:* Irving Garfinkel, University of Wisconsin, Madison

James Alan Brewster, Mathematics, Inc., Seattle

Priscilla Crawford, Indiana University, Gary

Russell Lidman, University of Wisconsin, Madison

**UNIVERSAL DAY CARE—ITS MEANING AND PROSPECTS**

*Presiding:* Georgia L. McMurray, Human Resources Administration, New York

*Speaker:* Joseph H. Reid, Child Welfare League of America, New York

**INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND HUMAN SERVICES**

*Presiding:* Morton S. Rogers, Children's Aid Society, New York

*Speakers:* Mrs. Ellen P. Manser, Family Service Association of America, New York

Bernice Goodman, Children's Aid Society, New York

**BREAKING THE BARRIERS TO SERVICES FOR MIGRANTS**

*Presiding:* Leticia Romero, City College of New York

*Speaker:* Alejandro LaLuz, New England Spanish American Institute, Hartford, Conn.

**RATIONAL BEHAVIORAL COUNSELING: LEARNING THEORY OF HUMAN EMOTION**

*Presiding:* Mrs. Laura L. Daniel, Dane County Department of Social Services, Madison, Wis.

*Speakers:* Maxie C. Maulsby, Jr., M.D., University of Kentucky Medical Center, Lexington

Mrs. Laura L. Daniel, Dane County Department of Social Services, Madison, Wis.

**MEDICAID: PROSPECTS AND ISSUES**

*Presiding:* Guy R. Justis, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

*Speaker:* Howard N. Newman, HEW, Washington

**BARRIERS TO HEALTH: PERSPECTIVE OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AMERICANS**

*Presiding and speaking:* Arthur E. Raya, HEW, Washington

*Speakers:* Leticia Diaz, Puerto Rican Interagency Council, New York

Bernardo Eureste, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

**THE DYNAMICS OF THE ARTS IN DEALING WITH LEISURE-TIME NEEDS**

*Speaker:* John Cooper, Christina Community Center, Wilmington, Del.

**WHAT'S HAPPENING TO UNMARRIED MOTHERS AND THEIR BABIES?**

*Presiding:* Duane W. Beck, Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Atlanta, Ga.

*Speakers:* Katherine Daly, Florence Crittenton Association of America, Chicago

Hans Hoel, Hennepin County Welfare Department, Minneapolis

*Reactor:* Arthur K. Marck, Lutheran Services of Iowa, Des Moines

#### TOWARD A NATION OF VOLUNTEERS

*Presiding:* Robert F. Shea, American National Red Cross, Washington

*Speakers:* Mrs. Alexander B. Ripley, President-elect, NCSW, Los Angeles

David Jeffreys, National Center for Voluntary Action, Washington

Benjamin R. Ross, National Center for Voluntary Action, Washington

#### THE ILLUSIONS OF COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

*Presiding:* Merena Gibbs, Youth Aftercare Programs, Boston

*Speakers:* Jerome Miller, Massachusetts Department of Youth Services, Boston

Leonard Stern, National Urban Coalition, Washington

#### ILLITERACY: OUR HIDDEN NATIONAL PROBLEM

*Presiding:* Rudolfo Rodriguez, Alianza Hispana, Dorchester, Mass.

*Speaker:* Ruth Holloway, HEW, Washington

#### AUTHORS' FORUM: DRUG ADDICTION

*Presiding:* Halloway C. Sells, Jr., Cincinnati Community Chest

*Speakers:* Walter R. Cuskey, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Jack A. Davis, Veterans Administration Hospital, New Orleans

Richard B. Joelson, North Shore Child Guidance Center, Manhasset, N.Y.

T. Premkumar, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

#### AUTHORS' FORUM: EDUCATION

*Presiding:* Harold M. Baron, Associated Colleges of Midwest, Chicago

*Speakers:* Louise A. Frey, Boston University

Harris K. Goldstein, Florida State University, Tallahassee

James M. O'Kane, Drew University, Madison, N.J. (Philip K. Jensen, coauthor)

J. R. Pearman, Florida State University, Tallahassee

#### INCOME MAINTENANCE: A REPORT ON EXPERIMENTS

*Presiding:* Mrs. Dorothy Bird Daly, Catholic University of America, Washington

*Speakers:* John L. Costa, HEW, Washington

Wayne Vasey, Wayne State University, Detroit, and University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Kenneth H. McCartney, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

#### ADOPTION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

*Presiding:* Clara Swan, Child Welfare League of America, New York

*Speaker:* Ursula M. Gallagher, HEW, Washington

*Discussant:* Kenneth W. Watson, Chicago Child Care Society

#### USE OF VOLUNTEERS AS FAMILY COUNSELORS

*Presiding:* Alfred Kadushin, University of Wisconsin, Madison

*Speaker:* Albert Olsen, Advisory and Service Council of the State of New York, New York

*Discussant:* Clark W. Blackburn, Family Service Association of America, New York

#### HEALTH PLANNING'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL WELFARE

*Presiding:* Robert M. Moroney, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

*Speakers:* Philip E. Van Heest, United Fund and Community Services, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Andrew Johnson, HEW, Boston

Teresita Moreno, University of Southern California, Alhambra

#### HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS: SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

*Presiding:* Chauncey A. Alexander, National Association of Social Workers, New York

*Speaker:* Murray Ortoff, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York

*Discussants:* Mildred Arrill, Public Health Service, Rockville, Md.

Marie Blank, National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Md.

Rosa Felsenberg, Indiana University, Indianapolis

Peter Vaughn, Model Neighborhood Comprehensive Health Plan, Detroit

#### RATIONAL BEHAVIOR COUNSELING: APPLICATION TO SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

*Presiding and discussing:* Mrs. Laura L. Daniel, Dane County Department of Social Services, Madison, Wis.

*Discussant:* Maxie C. Maultsby, Jr., M.D., University of Kentucky Medical Center, Lexington

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR GROUPS' SERVICES: THE CHALLENGE OF RACISM

*Speaker:* Wesley Scott, Milwaukee Urban League

#### THE SOCIAL WORK-SOCIAL WELFARE EDUCATION PROJECT

*Presiding:* Milton A. Brown, Community Progress, New Haven, Conn.

*Speaker:* Michael J. Austin, State University System of Florida, Tallahassee

#### SOCIAL ACTION IN THE PROFESSION

*Presiding:* Fred H. Steininger, HEW, Atlanta, Ga.

*Speakers:* The Rev. Bernard J. Coughlin, Saint Louis University, St. Louis

Shanti Khinduka, Saint Louis University, St. Louis

*Discussant:* Morris H. Cohen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

#### THE CASE FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

*Speakers:* Randolph Blackwell, Southern Rural Action, Inc., Atlanta Ga.

Thomas Rose, Montgomery College, Rockville, Md.

NEW MEDICINE FOR OUR SICK HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

*Speakers:* Melvin A. Glasser, International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit

James Haughton, Health and Hospitals Governing Commission, Cook County Hospital, Chicago

AUTHORS' FORUM: MENTAL HEALTH

*Presiding:* Andrew G. Freeman, Philadelphia Urban League

*Speakers:* Ronald D. Lee, Community Health Services, San Francisco

Lillias L. Quintana, Community Health Services, San Francisco

Lynne Riehman, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo

Kenneth R. Russell, Colorado State Hospital, Pueblo

AUTHORS' FORUM: SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

*Presiding:* Jean M. Maxwell, San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif.

*Speaker:* Mrs. Maeda J. Galinsky, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (Janice H. Schopler, coauthor)

C. Bernard Scotch, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond

James K. Whittaker, University of Washington, Seattle

SOCIAL ISSUES FORUM

TUESDAY, MAY 30

WHAT'S BEHIND THE HAPPY FACE?

*Presiding:* Maxine E. Phillips, Child Welfare League of America, New York

*Speaker:* Franklyn S. Haiman, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

*Sponsor:* Combined Associate Groups

A MARRIAGE IN JEOPARDY (Social Practice Workshop)

*Presiding:* Sumner Glimcher, Columbia University Press, New York

*Speakers:* David Fanshel, Columbia University, New York City

Mrs. Freda F. Moss, Park East Counseling Group, New York

CONSUMER EDUCATION FOR OLDER PEOPLE: PHASE II

*Presiding:* Ralph Leach, American Association of Retired Persons—National Retired Teachers Association, Washington

*Speaker:* Mrs. Erma Angevine, Consumers Federation of America, Washington

*Cosponsors:* American Association of Retired Persons—National Retired Teachers Association; American Home Economics Association

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE NONIMMIGRANT—VISITOR,

STUDENT, TEMPORARY WORKER, AND ILLEGAL ALIEN

*Presiding:* Mrs. Ione A. DuVal, Travelers Aid Society of Metropolitan Chicago

*Speakers:* John E. McCarthy, U.S. Catholic Conference, Washington

Sam Bernsen, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington

William Males, United HIAS Service, Inc., New York

*Sponsor:* American Immigration and Citizenship Conference

## ASIAN AMERICAN ISSUES IN SOCIAL WELFARE

*Presiding:* Ford H. Kuramoto, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

*Panelists:* Ernest Mann, Samoan Outpost, Cerritos, Calif.

Gwen Wong, Los Angeles YWCA

Bok-Lim C. Kim, University of Illinois, Urbana

Jim Miyano, Special Services for Groups, Los Angeles

Teo Filo Polentino, Asian American Social Workers, Oak Park, Ill.

Charles Pei Wang, Asian American Social Workers, Elmhurst, N.Y.

*Sponsor:* Asian American Social Workers

NATIVE AMERICAN LIFEWAYS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS  
FOR SOCIAL WORK

*Presiding:* John H. Compton, University of Utah, Salt Lake City

*Speakers:* Jere L. Brennan, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Aberdeen, S. Dak.

Mrs. Evelyn L. Blanchard, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

*Sponsor:* Association of American Indian Social Workers

## PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS IN SOCIAL WORK

*Presiding:* Doris Correa, New York University, New York

*Panelists:* Isabel Soto, Columbia University, New York

Doris Correa, New York University, New York

Melvin Delgado, Columbia University, New York

*Cosponsor:* Association of Puerto Rican Social Service Workers; Aspira Graduate Studies Program

## INDUSTRY GIVES

*Presiding:* Mrs. Elliot Jacobson, Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, Kansas City, Mo.

*Speakers:* Robert M. Schneider, Xerox Corporation, Stamford, Conn.

Michael Robison, Bank of America, Los Angeles

*Cosponsors:* Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America; National Assembly for Social Policy and Development; National Association for Statewide Health and Welfare; United Way of America

## FAMILY DAY CARE—NO LONGER A SUBTOPIC

*Presiding:* Mrs. Evelyn Diers, Chicago Child Care Society

*Speakers:* Mrs. Lorraine Wallach, Ericson Institute for Early Education, Chicago

Eugene Moorner, Lutheran Child and Family Services, Englewood, Ill.

*Cosponsors:* Child Welfare League of America; Florence Crittenton Association of America; the Volunteers of America

RECENT CHANGES IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION WITH  
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

*Presiding:* Alton A. Linford, University of Chicago

*Speaker:* Richard Lodge, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond

*Sponsor:* Council on Social Work Education



**SERVICE TO BLACK FAMILIES**

*Presiding:* William Reid, University of Chicago

*Speakers:* Betty French, United Charities, Chicago

Olive Petro, United Charities, Chicago

Joy Burns, United Charities, Chicago

Yolanda Scheunemann, United Charities, Chicago

*Sponsor:* Family Service Association of America

**CLINICIANS AND SOCIAL ACTIVISTS: EXPOSING THE MYTH SEPARATING CLINICAL PRACTICE AND SOCIAL ACTION**

*Presiding:* Helen J. Lane, Loyola University, Chicago

*Speakers:* Arnold M. Levin, Flossmoor, Ill.

James E. Craigen, Howard University, Washington

*Sponsor:* National Association of Social Workers

**CHURCHES' ROLE IN CHANGING HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS**

*Presiding:* Edward Krill, U.S. Catholic Conference

*Speaker:* John McDowell, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York

*Cosponsors:* National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Executive Council, Episcopal Church; Division of Welfare Services, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.; National Conference of Catholic Charities; Presbyterian Church in the United States; United Church of Christ; United Methodist Church, Health and Welfare; United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

**AGE, WORK CAPACITY IN SOCIAL SERVICE ROLES**

*Presiding:* Ian Pearis, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington

*Speaker:* Donald L. Davis, National Council on the Aging, Washington

*Discussants:* Esther Seiber, Southwestern Community Action Council, Huntington, W. Va.

Elizabeth O. Farley, Bronx Foundation for Senior Citizens, New York

*Cosponsors:* National Council on the Aging; National Council of Jewish Women

**THE DILEMMA OF ACCOUNTABILITY**

*Presiding:* Brigadier Mary E. Verner, Salvation Army, New York

*Speaker:* Sanford L. Kravitz, State University of New York, Stony Brook, N.Y.

*Sponsor:* The Salvation Army

**ROUND-UP: NEW TECHNIQUES, FOCUS, RELATIONSHIPS, AND FUNDING OF INFORMATION AND REFERRAL SERVICES**

*Presiding:* Barbara Pomeroy, HEW, Washington

*Speakers:* Milton Zatinsky, Florida Information and Referral Center, Miami

Robert Langer, Health and Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis

Jane D. Leopold, Health and Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis

Ruth A. White, HEW, Baltimore

*Cosponsors:* United Way of America; National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults; National Hot Line and Switchboard Exchange

#### MAKE THE PRIME OF LIFE THE BEST YEARS OF LIFE!

*Presiding:* Bernard E. Nash, National Retired Teachers Association—American Association of Retired Persons, Washington

*Speakers:* Helena Z. Lopata, Loyola University, Chicago  
James Peterson, Andrus Gerontological Center, Los Angeles

*Sponsors:* American Association of Retired Persons—National Retired Teachers Association

#### OVERCOMING BARRIERS IN GOAL-ORIENTED PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES

*Presiding:* Guy R. Justis, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

*Speaker:* James A. Bax, HEW, Washington

*Sponsor:* American Public Welfare Association

#### THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE WAGES WAR ON RACISM

*Presiding:* Lt. Col. Frank F. Montalvo, Army Community Service Special Affairs and Review Division, Washington

*Speaker:* Col. Edward F. Krise, Patrick Air Force Base, Fla.

*Discussant:* Ronald H. Brown, National Urban League, New York

*Sponsor:* Army Community Service

#### VOLUNTEERS ON THE CRISIS TELEPHONE

*Presiding:* Mrs. Jerry Howlett, Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, Des Moines, Iowa

*Speaker:* Sam M. Heilig, Suicide Prevention Center, Los Angeles

*Discussant:* Ken Miller, American Red Cross, Wichita, Kans.

*Cosponsors:* Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America; American National Red Cross; National Council of Jewish Women; United Way Information and Referral Services

#### IMPLICATIONS OF WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION FOR PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S AGENCIES (Session I)

*Presiding:* Paul Davis, WCIA Television, Champaign, Ill.

*Speakers:* Jean Rubin, Child Welfare League of America, New York  
Mrs. Ellen P. Manser, Family Service Association of America, New York

Harold A. Hagen, American Public Welfare Association, Washington

*Cosponsors:* Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 1); Florence Crittenton Association of America; the Volunteers of America

#### DIALOGUE ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

*Presiding:* Abraham Lurie, Adelphi University, Garden City, N.Y.

*Speakers:* Edward T. Weaver, Illinois Department of Public Aid and Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, Springfield  
Sidney J. Berkowitz, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago  
Kenneth W. Kindelsperger, University of Denver

*Cosponsors:* Council on Social Work Education; Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 2); Family Service Association of America

#### WORKSHOP ON STATE CONFERENCE PROBLEMS

*Presiding:* Daniel Thursz, University of Maryland, Baltimore

*Sponsor:* National Association for Statewide Health and Welfare

#### HOW ARE SOCIAL WORK TRAINING AND MANPOWER BEING UTILIZED?

*Presiding:* Milton Wittman, National Institute of Mental Health, Chevy Chase, Md.

*Speakers:* Rafael Aquirre, Family Service, El Paso, Texas

Kenji Murase, San Francisco State College

*Sponsor:* National Association of Social Workers

#### INTERFAITH APPROACH TO CHANGING THE WELFARE SYSTEM

*Presiding:* Woodrow Carter, Episcopal Church, New York

*Speakers:* The Rev. James Francis, Episcopal Diocese of Ohio, Cleveland

*Cosponsors:* National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Executive Council, Episcopal Church; Division of Welfare Services, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.; National Conference of Catholic Charities; Presbyterian Church in the United States; United Church of Christ; United Methodist Church, Health and Welfare; United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

#### SAVING CHILDREN FROM DELINQUENCY

*Presiding:* R. Barry Bollensen, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Chicago

*Speakers:* Jill McNulty, Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, Chicago

Harvey Treger, University of Illinois, Chicago

Patrick T. Murphy, Chicago

*Sponsor:* National Council on Crime and Delinquency

#### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: WHAT'S HAPPENING IN LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS?

*Presiding:* Walter L. Smart, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York

*Speakers:* Rodney S. Wead, United Methodist Community Centers, Omaha

Mrs. Beatrice Gray, Friendship House, Washington

*Sponsor:* National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers

#### FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

*Presiding:* Lelia V. Hall, Planned Parenthood-World Population, New York

*Speakers:* Mrs. Nancy Fischer, Planned Parenthood Association of Chicago Area, Chicago

John Kujawski, Planned Parenthood Association of Chicago Area, Chicago

David Tardy, Planned Parenthood Association of Chicago Area, Chicago

*Cosponsors:* Planned Parenthood—World Population; Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 3)

#### WORKSHOP REPORTS (continuation of Workshops from May 28)

*Presiding:* Capt. Laurence Wilson, Salvation Army, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada

*Sponsor:* The Salvation Army

#### STATE SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

*Presiding:* James A. McDaniel, United Presbyterian Health and Welfare Association, New York

*Speaker:* The Hon. Melvin A. Slawik, State Senator, Wilmington, Del.

*Sponsor:* United Presbyterian Health, Education, and Welfare Association

#### A SELF-HELP PROGRAM IN PROFESSIONAL ENVIRONMENT

*Presiding:* Delwin M. Anderson, Veterans Administration, Washington

*Chairman of Panel:* John Wax, Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, Calif.

*Speaker:* James W. Quisenberry, Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, Calif.

*Discussants:* Graduate of the self-help program; self-help program member

*Sponsor:* Veterans Administration

#### A MARRIAGE IN JEOPARDY (continuation of earlier session)

#### RAP SESSION ON PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES

*Presiding:* Guy R. Justis, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

*Speaker:* James A. Bax, HEW, Washington

*Sponsor:* American Public Welfare Association

#### VOLUNTEERS IN A MULTISERVICE ADOLESCENT

##### SERVICE AGENCY

*Presiding:* Mrs. Mary Ann Lawson, Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, Riverside, Calif.

*Speaker:* Jan C. Horn, Executive Director, Youth Service Center, Riverside, Calif.

*Discussant:* A. Paul Carter, American Social Health Association, New York

*Cosponsors:* Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America; American Social Health Association; Big Brothers of America

#### THE FEDERAL ROLE IN SETTING STANDARDS FOR FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICE (Session II)

*Presiding:* Mrs. Lela B. Costin, University of Illinois, Urbana

*Speaker:* Myrtle P. Wolff, HEW, Washington

*Reactors:* Zelma Felten, Child Welfare League of America, New York

Bernard Strumbas, Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services, Madison

*Cosponsors:* Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 1); Florence Crittenton Association of America; the Volunteers of America

#### DIALOGUE ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

*Presiding:* Abraham Lurie, Adelphi University, Garden City, N.Y.

*Speakers:* Edward T. Weaver, Illinois Department of Public Aid and Illinois Department of Children and Family Service, Springfield

Sidney J. Berkowitz, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago

Kenneth W. Kindelsperger, University of Denver

*Cosponsors:* Council on Social Work Education; Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 2); Family Service Association of America

#### THE CURRENT JOB MARKET IN SOCIAL WORK: SOCIAL WORK: UNEMPLOYMENT—IMPACT ON SERVICES

*Presiding:* Mrs. Evelyn L. Blanchard, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

*Speakers:* Oscar Friedensohn, National Association of Social Workers, New York

Judith Schild, Chicago

*Sponsor:* National Association of Social Workers

#### CHURCHES SERVE OLDER PEOPLE

*Presiding:* Betty J. Letzig, United Methodist Church Board of Missions, New York

*Discussant:* Louise Weeks, United Methodist Church Board of Missions, New York

*Cosponsors:* National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Executive Council, Episcopal Church; Division of Welfare Services, Lutheran Council U.S.A.; National Conference of Catholic Charities; Presbyterian Church in the United States; United Church of Christ; United Methodist Church, Health and Welfare; United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

#### SAVING CHILDREN FROM DELINQUENCY

*Presiding:* R. Barry Bollensen, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Chicago

*Speakers:* Jill McNulty, Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, Chicago

Harvey Treger, University of Illinois, Chicago

Patrick T. Murphy, Chicago

*Sponsor:* National Council on Crime and Delinquency

#### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: WHAT'S HAPPENING IN LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS? (continuation of earlier meeting)

*Sponsor:* National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers

#### ROUND-UP: NEW TECHNIQUES, FOCUS, RELATIONSHIPS, AND FUNDING OF INFORMATION AND REFERRAL SERVICES

*Presiding:* Ken Beitler, National Hot Line and Switchboard Exchange, Minneapolis

*Speakers:* Marilyn Hennessy, National Easter Seal Society, Chicago  
 Gloria Duday, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago  
 Nicholas Long, American Rehabilitation Foundation, Minneapolis  
 Marjory Carpenter, Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County, Minneapolis

*Cosponsors:* United Way of America; National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults; National Hot Line and Switchboard Exchange

#### DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL WORK IN VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

*Presiding and speaking:* Delwin M. Anderson, Veterans Administration, Washington

*Panelists:* Mrs. Eleanor Kyle, Veterans Administration, Washington  
 Claire R. Lustman, Veterans Administration, Washington

*Sponsor:* Veterans Administration

FOR SALE? (a Play by Joan Vail Thorne,  
 produced by the Chicago Community Theatre)

*Presiding and discussion leader:* Gordon Manser, National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, New York

*Cosponsors:* NCSW Audio-Visual Committee; Plays for Living, Family Service Association of America; National Assembly for Social Policy and Development; National Council of Christians and Jews; National Urban League

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31

#### GENERAL SESSION: THE CHALLENGE OF ETHNIC COALITIONS

*Presiding:* Antonio Tinajero, Orange Community Action Council, Santa Ana, Calif.

*Speakers:* Leon F. Cook, Minneapolis Public Schools  
 Ford H. Kuramoto, University of Southern California, Los Angeles  
 Yolanda Sanchez, City College of New York  
 Albert L. Gurule, La Raza Unida Service Center, Pueblo, Colo.

#### THE PROFESSION: EDUCATION AND RACISM

*Presiding:* Paul Sanchez, San Jose School of Social Work, San Jose, Calif.

*Speakers:* Dorothy I. Height, YWCA, New York  
 Howard D. Arnold, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

#### PROPOSALS FOR WELFARE REFORM: A LEGISLATIVE PERSPECTIVE

*Presiding:* Eric Sewell, Howard University, Washington  
*Speaker:* Jay C. Chunn, Howard University, Washington

#### CURRENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES— IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

*Presiding:* Sterling Tucker, Washington Urban League

*Speaker:* Werner W. Boehm, Rutgers—the State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

#### SELF-HELP AMONG THE INDIANS

*Presiding:* Mrs. Evelyn L. Blanchard, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

*Speakers:* Eugene Begay, Mental Health Division, United Southeastern Tribes, Sarasota, Fla.

Russell Means, Cleveland Indian Center, Cleveland

Robert Carr, Laguna Tribal Office, Old Laguna, N. Mex.

Mrs. Mifaunwy Shunatona Hines, American Indian Community House, New York

#### THE DRUG PROBLEM: ARTIFICIAL TRAGEDY AND REAL VICTIMS

*Presiding:* Mrs. Jeweldean Jones Londa, National Urban League, New York

*Speaker:* The Rev. Howard Moody, Judson Memorial Church, New York

#### THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES— PROGRESS AND COMPLICATIONS

*Presiding:* Guy R. Justis, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

*Speakers:* John M. Wedemeyer, Technical Assistance and Planning Associates, Chicago

T. M. Jim Parham, State Department of Family and Children's Services, Atlanta, Ga.

#### FINANCIAL BARRIERS TO HEALTH: FROM PERSONAL PRIVILEGE TO SOCIAL RIGHT

*Presiding:* Thomas Scullion, Michigan State University, East Lansing

*Speakers:* Darwin Palmiere, State University College, Brockport, N.Y.

Eugene Feingold, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

#### NARCOTICS ADDICTION: PREVENTION AND TREATMENT

*Presiding:* Mrs. Adele Braude, Public Affairs Committee, New York

*Speakers:* Godfrey B. Frankel, National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Md.

Arthur D. Moffett, Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute, Philadelphia

#### TOWARD A NEW SOCIAL HEALTH POLICY FOR CARE OF THE LONG-TERM PATIENT

*Presiding:* Mrs. Jeannette Kramer, Plum Grove Nursing Home, Palatine, Ill.

*Speakers:* Marie Callender, HEW, Washington

Jerome Hammerman, University of Chicago

#### COMMUNITY ACTION

*Speaker:* Patrick Henry, Illinois Arts Council, Chicago



## TRAINING POLICE IN FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION

*Presiding:* David E. Epperson, University of Pittsburgh

*Speakers:* Robert Mobley, Charlotte Police Department, Charlotte, N.C.

Edward Nadelman, Family and Children's Services, Charlotte, N.C.

## AGENCY PARTICIPATION IN A COMMUNITY SURVEY

*Presiding:* Joseph E. Klug, United Community Services, Charlotte, N.C.

*Speakers:* A. David Bouterse, Anna Marie, Fla.

Leslie W. Nummela, Family and Child Services of Omaha

SHARED POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY IN PROVIDING  
AGENCY SERVICES

*Presiding:* Frank W. Harris, United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit

*Speakers:* Mrs. Gloria Lopez McKnight, Wayne County Department of Social Services, Detroit

Martin A. Livenstein, Neighborhood Service Organization, Detroit

## ETHNIC MOVEMENTS

*Presiding:* Arthur Nappasteck, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

*Speakers:* The Rev. Gino Baroni, Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, Washington

Barbara A. Mikulski, Loyola College, Baltimore

James Gibson, Potomac Institute, Washington

## WOMEN'S ISSUES IN SOCIAL WELFARE

*Presiding:* Josephine Lambert, Boston University

*Speakers:* Shirley Buttrick, HEW, Bethesda, Md.

Maryann Mahaffey, Wayne State University, Detroit

Elizabeth Phillips, Wayne State University, Detroit

*Discussants:* Social work students; agency administrators; agency practitioners

## AUTHORS' FORUM: CHILDREN

*Presiding:* John F. Larberg, National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, New York

*Speakers:* Jane H. Pfouts, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Frederick W. Seidl, Waterloo Lutheran University, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

John J. Stretch, Saint Louis University, St. Louis (Phillip E. Crunk, coauthor)

John S. Wodarski, Washington University, St. Louis

## AUTHORS' FORUM: HEALTH

*Presiding:* Matthew Walker, M.D., Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.

*Speakers:* Harris Chaiklin, University of Maryland, Baltimore (Martha Warfield, coauthor)

Jack A. Davis, Veterans Administration Hospital, New Orleans

Mrs. Ralphyne MacDonald, San Francisco Mental Health Department  
Robin J. Milstead, Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio

#### RACISM AND DELIVERY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

*Presiding:* James Satterwhite, Columbia University, New York

*Speaker:* Douglas Glasgow, Howard University, Washington

*Discussants:* Magdalena Miranda, Puerto Rican Interagency Council,  
New York

David Ushio, Japanese-American Citizen's League, Washington

#### WELFARE: THE FAILURE OF OTHER SYSTEMS

*Presiding:* Norman J. Lourie, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa.

*Speaker:* Wilbur J. Cohen, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

#### THE WORK ETHIC—ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

*Presiding:* Mark Battle, Mark Battle Associates, Washington

*Speaker:* Eric Sewell, Howard University, Washington

#### IN-HOME SERVICES FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

*Presiding:* Jeanne Farrell, Department of Social Services, Greenwich,  
Conn.

*Speakers:* Elizabeth Stringer, Children's Aid Society, New York

Georgia L. McMurray, Human Resources Administration, New York

#### MAINTAINING MENTAL HEALTH IN A SERVICE WILDERNESS

*Presiding:* Ralph Littlestone, National Institute of Mental Health,  
Rockville, Md.

*Speakers:* Jeanette Hanford, National Study Service, New York

John H. Moore, National Study Service, New York

#### HOME CARE FOR THE ELDERLY: ALTERNATIVE TO THE INSTITUTION

*Presiding:* Winifred Lally, Department of Social Services, New York

*Speakers:* Robert Morris, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

James J. Callahan, Jr., Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare,  
Boston

Edward G. Lindsey, State Communities Aid Association, Buffalo, N.Y.

#### NATIONAL PLANNING FOR PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES

*Presiding:* Maurice O. Hunt, Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., New York

*Speaker:* Mrs. Dorothy Bird Daly, Catholic University of America,  
Washington

*Discussant:* Harold A. Hagen, American Public Welfare Association,  
Washington

#### TOWARD A HUMAN SERVICES SYSTEM

*Presiding:* Cecil S. Feldman, Community Services of Pennsylvania,  
Harrisburg

*Speakers:* Philip Rutledge, HEW, Washington  
Stanley J. Brody, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

#### BARRIERS TO HEALTH: THE AMERICAN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

*Presiding:* Mrs. Elloise DeGroat, Navajo Area Indian Health Service,  
Window Rock, Ariz.

*Speakers:* Melvin Piatote, Colville Agency, Nespelem, Wash.  
Al Elgin, Indian Centers Development Services, Mill Valley, Calif.  
Mrs. Annie Wauneka, Window Rock, Ariz.

*Discussant:* Thomas Todacheeny

#### MEETING LEISURE NEEDS

*Presiding:* Olcutt Sanders, U. S. Committee for UNICEF, New York

*Speaker:* Anderson D. Clark, Affiliate Artists, Inc., New York

#### SOCIAL PLANNING AS A PART OF BASIC POLICY DECISIONS IN CITY GOVERNMENT

*Presiding:* Dan MacDonald, United Fund of Greater St. Louis

*Speaker:* The Rev. Lucius Cervantes, St. Louis

#### PLANNING BY OBJECTIVES

*Presiding:* Gordon Berg, United Community Services, Charlotte, N.C.

*Speaker:* Gary Bowers, United Way of America, Alexandria, Va.

#### CURRENT TRENDS IN DAY CARE

*Presiding:* C. Bernard Scotch, Virginia Commonwealth University,  
Richmond

*Speaker:* Ronald Parker, Universal Education Centers, New York

*Discussant:* William Pierce, Child Welfare League of America, Wash-  
ington

#### FUTURE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE U.S.A. (Lindeman Lecture)

*Presiding:* Hubert E. Jones, Massachusetts Institute of Technology,  
Cambridge

*Speaker:* Robert Theobald, Wickenburg, Ariz.

*Cosponsors:* Section VI: Societal Problems (Group Meeting 1); Section II:  
Problems of Effective Functioning (Group Meeting 5)

#### AUTHORS' FORUM: FAMILY

*Presiding:* Charline J. Birkins, Colorado Department of Social Service,  
Denver

*Speakers:* Harris Chaiklin, University of Maryland, Baltimore (Carol L.  
Frank, coauthor)

Harvey L. Gochros, University of Hawaii, Honolulu

Kenneth R. Russell, Colorado State Hospital, Pueblo, Colo. (Jack Hor-  
ner, coauthor)

William H. Spillane, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md.

#### AUTHORS' FORUM: MENTAL HEALTH

*Presiding:* Fred H. Steining, HEW, Atlanta, Ga.

*Speakers:* Joel Fischer, University of Hawaii, Honolulu

Martin A. Livenstein, Neighborhood Service Organization, Detroit  
John E. Mayer, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, New York (Aaron Rosenblatt, coauthor)

THE AIM OF THE GAME (Gaming Workshop)

*Discussion and panel leader:* Armand Lauffer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

*Panelists:* Gail M. Fennessey, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Larry A. McClellan, Urbandyne, Inc., Chicago

Larry C. Coppard, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Robert Parnes, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Frank F. Maple, Jr., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Ronald Klietch, Instructional Simulations, Inc., St. Paul, Minn.

ANNUAL MEETING OF NCSW MEMBERS

SHOW TIME; OR, SOCIAL WORKERS HAVE LEISURE-  
TIME NEEDS TOO

THURSDAY, JUNE 1

PRIORITIES FOR BUILDING AN OPEN SOCIETY

*Presiding:* Dorothy Demby, American Foundation for the Blind, New York

*Speaker:* Anna R. Lanford, alderman, Chicago

*Sponsor:* Combined Associate Groups

THE POLICY NEGOTIATIONS GAMES

(Workshop 1)

*Leaders:* Jarl Nischan, Michigan Department of Social Services, Lansing

Sydney E. Bernard, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Harvey Bertcher, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Frank F. Maple, Jr., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Kathleen O'Konski, Illinois Institute of Social Policy

Stanley Kim, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

JUVENILE COURT DISPOSITION SIMULATION

(Workshop 2)

*Leader:* Carl Rinne, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

COMPASS: COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT PRIORITY

SIMULATION (Workshop 3)

*Leader:* Ronald Klietch, Instructional Simulations, Inc., St. Paul, Minn.

OLD TOWN: A MODEL CITIES GAME (Workshop 4)

*Leaders:* William N. Savage, Urbandyne Inc., Chicago

Larry A. McClellan, Urbandyne, Inc., Chicago

Larry Lerer, CONSAD Research Corporation, Pittsburgh

CLASSROOM (Workshop 5)

*Leader:* Gail M. Fennessey, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

## STANDARD-SETTING FOR VOLUNTEERS IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

*Presiding:* Mrs. Alfred Rappa, Jr., Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, Saginaw, Mich.

*Speakers:* Marguerite M. Parrish, Catholic Social Services of Wash-tenaw County, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mrs. Harriet Goldstein, Association for Jewish Children of Philadelphia

Mrs. Ruth Cohen, Association for Jewish Children of Philadelphia

*Discussant:* Mrs. Elizabeth Borst, Chicago Child Care Society

*Cosponsors:* Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America; Big Brothers of America; Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 1); the Volunteers of America (Group Meeting 1)

## NEW HAPPENINGS IN FOSTER PARENT ORGANIZATIONS

*Presiding:* Morris Davids, Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago

*Speaker:* Helen Stone, Child Welfare League of America, New York

*Panel moderator:* Jeanne Hunzeker, Child Welfare League of America, New York

*Panelists:* Mrs. Ruth Harden, Glendale Heights, Ill.

James Meyers, Kankakee Foster Parent Organization, Bourbonnais, Ill.

Timothy McKernan, Colorado State Foster Parents Association, Denver

*Sponsor:* Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 2)

## IMPLICATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE STYLES FOR CHILD REARING AND FAMILY LIFE

*Presiding:* Mrs. Ann Chamberlin, Chicago Child Care Society

*Speaker:* Morris Janowitz, University of Chicago, Chicago

*Cosponsors:* Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 3); Florence Crittenton Association of America; the Volunteers of America (Group Meeting 2)

## THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE ETHNIC MINORITY COMMUNITY

*Presiding:* Mrs. Genevieve T. Hill, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

*Speaker:* Ismael Dieppa, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

*Sponsor:* Council on Social Work Education

## PROJECT STAR: COALITION FOR CHANGE

*Presiding:* Alexander J. Allen, Jr., National Urban League, New York

*Speakers:* Earl L. Long, National Urban League, New York

Leonard Fontana, National Urban League, New York

*Cosponsors:* Family Service Association of America; National Urban League

## A PRIMER FOR PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL ACTION

*Presiding:* Stanley J. Brody, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

*Speakers:* Victor Weipert, Michigan House of Representatives, Lansing

Paul Keys, National Association of Social Workers, Washington

Paul Fitzgerald, Commonwealth University, Richmond, Va.  
Leon Chestang, University of Chicago

*Sponsor:* National Association of Social Workers

#### WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING—ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION

*Presiding:* Hobart C. Jackson, National Caucus on the Black Aged,  
Philadelphia

*Speaker:* Arthur S. Flemming, White House Conference on Aging,  
Washington

*Discussants:* Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago

Robert Ahrins, Office of the Mayor, Chicago

*Cosponsors:* National Council on the Aging; American Foundation for the  
Blind; American Home Economics Association; American Association of  
Retired Persons—National Retired Teachers Association; National Council  
for Homemakers—Home Health Aide Service; National Council of Jewish  
Women; National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults;  
National Health Council; the Salvation Army (Group Meeting 1); the Vol-  
unteers of America (Group Meeting 3)

#### THE ADDICTIONS: ALCOHOLISM AND NARCOTICS

*Presiding:* John Perkins, Illinois Alcoholism and Drug Dependence As-  
sociation, Chicago

*Speakers:* Maj. Kenneth Stange, the Salvation Army, Detroit

Edward Boyle, the Salvation Army, Los Angeles

*Sponsor:* The Salvation Army (Group Meeting 2)

#### CHURCHES AND CHILD CARE ISSUES

*Presiding:* Mrs. Helen Webber, United Church Board of Homeland  
Ministries, New York

*Speaker:* Mrs. Marion Obenhaus, Chicago Child Care Society

*Cosponsors:* National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Ex-  
ecutive Council, Episcopal Church Division of Welfare Services, Lutheran  
Council in the U.S.A.; National Conference of Catholic Charities; Presby-  
terian Church in the United States; United Church of Christ; United  
Methodist Church, Health and Welfare; United Presbyterian Church in  
the U.S.A.

#### THEY SHOOT MARBLES, DON'T THEY? (Workshop 6)

*Leader:* Robert Parnes, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

#### THE REHABILITATION PLANNING GAME OR COMPACTS: A COMMUNITY PLANNING AND ACTION SIMULATION (Workshop 7)

*Leader:* Armand Lauffer, University of Michigan

#### CATCHMENT AREA: A COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PLANNING GAME (Workshop 8)

*Leader:* Larry C. Coppard, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

## THE LOBBYING GAME (Workshop 9)

*Leader:* David Williams, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

## END OF THE LINE (Workshop 10)

*Leaders:* Robert Benedict, Wayne State University, Detroit, and University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Robert Huber, Wayne State University, Detroit, and University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

## EXTENDING SERVICES TO UNMARRIED PARENTS

*Presiding:* Mrs. Robert A. Wellman, Child Welfare League of America, Moline, Ill.

*Speakers:* Delfine Kolodziejski, Catholic Social Services of St. Clair County, Royal Oak, Mich.

Martin E. Langer, Louise Wise Services, New York

Betty A. Schwartz, Florence Crittenton Association of America, Baltimore

*Cosponsors:* Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 1); Florence Crittenton Association of America; the Volunteers of America.

## SOCIAL WELFARE HISTORY GROUP—"THE SOCIAL SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY DURING THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD"

*Presiding:* Gary A. Lloyd, Tulane University, New Orleans

*Speakers:* Charles L. Sanders, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

William S. Jackson, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Joanne V. Rhone, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

*Discussant:* Imogene S. Young, University of Illinois, Chicago

*Sponsor:* Council on Social Work Education

## PROJECT STAR: COALITION FOR CHANGE

*Presiding:* Clark W. Blackburn, Family Service Association of America, New York

*Panelists:* Edward Hayes, Project STAR, Tampa, Fla.

Chester Holliday, Project STAR, San Diego, Calif.

Mrs. Jacqueline Shaffer, Project STAR, Hartford, Conn.

Mrs. Ann Hugennie, Project STAR, Portland, Oreg.

Mrs. Maria Vera, Project STAR, South Bend, Ind.

*Cosponsors:* Family Service Association of America; National Urban League

## INFLUENCING CHANGE THROUGH LEGISLATIVE AND SOCIAL ACTION

*Presiding:* Mrs. Alexander B. Ripley, President-elect, NCSW, Los Angeles

*Speakers:* Bruce L. Newman, Office of Urban Affairs, Columbus, Ohio

Patrick McCuan, University of Maryland, Baltimore

*Cosponsors:* National Association for Statewide Health and Welfare; National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults



PROFESSIONAL ACTION: IT CAN BE DONE

*Presiding:* Mark Battle, Mark Battle Associates, Washington

*Speakers:* Nancy Amidei, United States Senate, Washington

Helen Daniels, Community Council of Metropolitan Indianapolis

*Sponsor:* National Association of Social Workers

HOMEMAKER—HOME HEALTH AIDE SERVICES: A BASIC  
SERVICE TEAMS WITH OTHER IN-HOME SERVICES

*Presiding:* Verna E. Due, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Chicago

*Panelists:* Ronald Weismehl, Council for Jewish Elderly, Chicago

Ken Pommerenck, State Communities Aid Association, Buffalo, N.Y.

Mrs. Judith Anderson, Visiting Nurse Association of Buffalo, N.Y.

Mrs. C. Stein, Visiting Nurse Association of Buffalo, N.Y.

*Cosponsors:* National Council for Homemaker—Home Health Aide Services; American Association of Retired Persons—National Retired Teachers Association; American Home Economics Association

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR LEGAL ASSISTANCE

*Presiding:* Mayo H. Stiegler, National Legal Aid and Defender Association, Chicago

*Panelists:* Frank N. Jones, National Legal Aid and Defender Association, Chicago

Michael Kantor, Action for Legal Rights, Washington

C. Lyonel Jones, Legal Aid Society of Cleveland

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*Presiding:* Lelia V. Hall, Planned Parenthood—World Population, New York

*Speakers:* Mrs. Karen Gerrard, Planned Parenthood of Chicago

The Rev. Hugh Anwyl, Clergy Counseling Service for Problem Pregnancy, Los Angeles

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WHEN IS GROUP CARE THE ANSWER?

*Presiding:* Edwin W. B. Bé, Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, Chicago

*Speaker:* David L. Ball, Jr., Children's Village, Detroit

*Sponsor:* Child Welfare League of America (Group Meeting 1)

POLITICAL ISSUES FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

*Presiding:* Albert T. Cook, Model City Department, Houston, Texas

*Speakers:* John Cicero, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond

Maryann Mahaffey, Wayne State University, Detroit

*Sponsor:* National Association of Social Workers

# **HOMEMAKER—HOME HEALTH AIDE SERVICES: A BASIC SERVICE TEAMS WITH OTHER OUT-OF-HOME SERVICES**

*Presiding:* Mrs. Elizabeth G. Watkins, National Council for Homemaker—Health Aide Services, New York

*Speaker:* T. George Silcott, Wiltwyck School for Boys, New York

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# **PROVIDING COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE**

*Presiding:* Lelia V. Hall, Planned Parenthood—World Population, New York

*Speakers:* Mrs. Jessie Johnson, Planned Parenthood of Chicago  
John Wells, Family Planning Coordinating Council, Chicago

*Sponsor:* Planned Parenthood—World Population

# **DEVELOPING SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY IN AFRICA**

(Whitney M. Young, Jr., Memorial Lecture)

*Presiding:* Chauncey A. Alexander, National Association of Social Workers, New York

*Speaker:* Ambassador Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations, New York

*Cosponsors:* National Association of Social Workers; National Urban League; U.S. Committee of the ICSW

*FRIDAY, JUNE 2*

# **LAW, SOCIAL WELFARE, AND RACISM**

*Presiding:* Ronald H. Brown, National Urban League, New York

*Speaker:* Melvin Rivers, Fortune Society, New York

# **SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE SOVIET UNION**

*Presiding:* Robert Davis, HEW, Kansas City, Mo.

*Speakers:* John R. Carroll, HEW, Washington

James E. Muller, HEW, Washington

# **SICKLE CELL ANEMIA: ONE IN FOUR HUNDRED**

*Presiding:* Mrs. Naomi T. Gray, National Association for Sickle Cell Disease, Inc., New York

*Speaker:* Charles F. Whitten, M.D., Wayne State University, Detroit

# **EMERGENCY PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES**

*Presiding:* C. David Hollister, University of Minnesota, Duluth

*Speakers:* Edward Wellin, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Mrs. Doris P. Slesinger, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

C. David Hollister, University of Minnesota, Duluth

# **DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL SELF-HELP AGENCIES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP IN COMMUNITY GIVING**

*Presiding:* Robert F. Fenley, Social Planning Council of Santa Clara County, San Jose, Calif.

*Speaker:* Richard Simmons, Wayne State University, Detroit

*Discussants:* Rodolfo Sanchez, United Way of America, Alexandria, Va.

Percy Steele, Bay Area Urban League, San Francisco

#### UNITED WAY AND MINORITIES

*Presiding:* Alex Rodriguez, United Community Services of Greater Boston

*Speakers:* King Davis, Adult Clinic and Program Planning, State of Virginia, Richmond

Walter Bremond, Brotherhood Crusade, Los Angeles

#### WOMEN'S ISSUES IN SOCIAL WELFARE

(continuation of session on May 31)

*Presiding:* Virginia Burns, University of Chicago

*Speakers:* Shirley Buttrick, HEW, Bethesda, Md.

Maryann Mahaffey, Wayne State University, Detroit

Elizabeth Phillips, Wayne State University, Detroit

*Discussants:* Social work students; agency administrators; agency practitioners

#### STRATEGIES FOR WELFARE

*Presiding:* Richard Rowland, Massachusetts Public Welfare Council, Boston

*Speaker:* Richard Cloward, Columbia University, New York

#### AUTHORS' FORUM: AGING

*Presiding:* Cecil S. Feldman, Community Services of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg

*Speakers:* Mortimer Goodman, Community Centers Association, St. Louis

Nahun Weissman, Jewish Association for Services for the Aged, New York

Robert A. Wilson, University of Delaware, Newark (Bernard L. Duorsky, coauthor)

#### CLOSING GENERAL SESSION: ACHIEVING AN

##### OPEN SOCIETY

*Presiding:* James R. Dumpson, Fordham University, New York; President, NCSW

*Invocation:* The Rev. Victor T. Fujiu, Northbrook United M.E. Church, Chicago

*Speaker:* Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., National Urban League, New York

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    Community Mental Health Center  
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